

AMERICAN OPINION

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Revilo P. Oliver

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William S. Schlamm

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AMERICAN OPINION

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November 7, 1961

Dear Reader:

In *King's Highway* Dr. Medford Evans gives both a factual history of the "Freedom Rides," and an evaluation of the whole invasion, from the point of view of those invaded.

In *The Intemperate Educator* Dr. Russell Kirk, author of *The Conservative Mind* and many other brilliant books, discusses with his wonted urbanity the bigotry of uneducated professors. He learned about the breed from firsthand observation.

In *Luxury Liner On A Cruise To Nowhere* Professor E. Merrill Root gives brilliant support to a theme which he does not enunciate: That the Comsymps have set out to destroy American education under the guise—of course—of improving it. And as in a great many other uses of the "Principle of Reversal," they are making remarkable headway.

Dr. Revilo Oliver's *Intelligence In Intelligence* began life as the first book review in his *Review Of Reviews* for this issue. We thought it deserved separate billing as an excellent and timely article. So here it is, and we'll give you the rest of those reviews in December. While William Schlammm's *European Survey* is as penetrating and provocative as usual. It even provoked two pages of dissent out of us.

The *Review Of The News* by our staff will keep you informed about current events without putting you in the mood of the high school boy who was curious about penguins. (He complained to the librarian that the three-hundred page book she recommended had told him more about penguins than he wanted to know!) And the other features and fillers are the best that hours could buy.

Ladies and Liberals and Gentlemen, again we offer—we hope—your "time's worth" on every page.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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KING'S HIGHWAY

The Freedom Riders' Road to Revolution

by

MEDFORD EVANS

"Many of these students, when pressed to express their inner feelings, identify themselves with students in Africa, Asia, and South America. The liberation struggle in Africa has been the greatest single international influence on American Negro students. Frequently I hear them say that if their African brothers can break the bonds of colonialism, surely the American Negro can break Jim Crow."

—Martin Luther King, Jr. in the *N. Y. Times Magazine*, Sept. 10, 1961

In the crowds at Washington's bus-terminal intersection of Twelfth Street and New York Avenue, N. W. last May 4 (1961) were thirteen departing passengers ticketed for trouble. Their carefully planned itinerary involved no unusual routing or tight schedule. Through Charlotte, Atlanta, and Birmingham the party would move south-west towards New Orleans, where they expected to arrive May 17. Many a traveler has found this, even at a faster pace, a pleasantly dull trip through (by New York standards) a largely somnolent land. These particular fellow-travelers nevertheless anticipated with some excitement entering the quiet country of the South. They intended to wake it up. These were the original "Freedom Riders"—sifted from three times as many recruits, trained in Gandhian methods of civil disobedience, committed to a Negro "freedom" in America to match "*uhuru*" in African Kenya or "*l'indépendance*" in the Congo.

It will not be possible here to tell the whole story or make a complete analysis of the "Freedom Rides." From May

through September, 1961, some four hundred zealots rode buses in the South looking for segregation ordinances to disobey. There were rides into Florida, Arkansas, and Louisiana. There were tragic repercussions in Texas, where a diminutive English girl (ninety-five pounds), who had gone to jail in Mississippi in disapproval of the "colour bar," was raped by the 240-pound Negro manager of the Negro hotel where she stayed in Dallas. The Chaplain of Yale University tried to identify himself with the Freedom Riders in a semifarcical episode in Montgomery, Alabama, in May. In September there was an exhibition in Jackson, Mississippi by fifteen Protestant Episcopal ministers, featuring Governor Nelson Rockefeller's son-in-law. This involvement of the power élite in the revolution of rising expectations is a phenomenon meriting a monograph, but the present article cannot be it. Every day for over four months there were dozens of "human interest" stories—many of them significant—connected with the Freedom Riders. The present review of the operation centers largely on events

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of the three weeks beginning May 4, 1961. In that interval occurred all the large-scale violence, as well as a major transformation in the character and direction of the project—perhaps of the entire Negro movement in this country.

Closed out in September, the Rides could be charged in October with a double defeat, but residual gains. Evidently the Riders had once hoped to provoke violence (as a foil to "non-violence") but escape injury. In this they were doubly defeated, for in Alabama their injuries were multiple, and in still more dreaded Mississippi they were psychologically paralyzed and led peacefully to jail. The residual gains were, most obviously, a ruling by the Interstate Commerce Commission forbidding racial segregation in passenger terminals, which will doubtless have some effect though probably not the one intended; and, more significantly, the formation by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) of a permanent "nonviolent army" to be recruited by Rev. James Lawson, an expelled Vanderbilt divinity student who is a lieutenant of Martin Luther King and a key figure in the Freedom Rides.

The Freedom Rides may well have marked the beginning of the end of "integration"—because white Southerners proved in Mississippi that integrationists can be defeated more easily and more completely than anyone had previously suspected, but also because the leadership which emerged from the Rides at the head of the Negro movement is in fact oriented toward a policy not of "integration," which is achieved by elimination of race-consciousness, but of "black nationalism," which depends on intensification of race-consciousness.

At the end, though not at the beginning, the Freedom Rides belonged to Martin Luther King—already hailed by Sammy Davis, Jr. as "our leader," and called by biographer L. D. Reddick "the charismatic leader." What King's leadership might mean can be suggested indirectly but pointedly by a minatory passage from one of his favorite authors, Richard Wright: "I've heard liberal-minded Frenchmen express genuine horror at the lynching of a Negro by Mississippi whites. But to an Asian or an African it was not a Mississippi white man who did the lynching; it was just a Western white man."

From the premise that a Mississippi white man is just a Western white man it would follow that an assault on Mississippi—such as the Freedom Rides into Jackson—is just an assault on the West. That King's followers if not King accept the premise is attested by his own statement in the *New York Times Magazine* quoted at the beginning of this article: "The libertarian struggle in Africa has been the greatest single international influence on American Negro students."

II

THE FREEDOM RIDES began as a project of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which describes itself as "A National Federation of Local Interracial Groups Working to Abolish Racial Discrimination by Direct Non-violent Methods." A scion of the militantly pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation instituted by A. J. Muste in 1915, CORE branched off in 1942 with a chapter in Chicago, and now claims 25,000 members in fifty cities. From an address in New York (513 West 166th Street) shared with the Fellowship,

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CORE had by March 1957 moved to its present address at 38 Park Row, New York 38. The National Director is James Farmer, a 41-year-old Negro, to whom, on October 16, 1961, New York's Mayor Wagner, in a ceremony at City Hall (across the street from CORE headquarters), gave a proclamation of a "Freedom Riders Week"—possibly as a consolation prize for Martin Luther King's having taken the Freedom Rides away from him. Editor of puckishly named house organ CORE-LATOR is James Peck, 46, who went to Federal penitentiary in World War II for refusing all reconciliation with the United States armed services. Spokesmen for CORE's home office include Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director, and Gordon R. Carey, who told *U. S. News & World Report* that the objective of the biracial order was "to create the open society." A National Advisory Committee includes Muste, Roger N. Baldwin, E. Stanley Jones, Lillian Smith, A. Philip Randolph, James B. Carey, Walter P. Reuther, Arthur J. Goldberg (indicating that the open society will have a closed shop), James Baldwin, and a score of other moral aristocrats of both races, most notably the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the interlocking Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)—who is so non-violent in his methods of Christian leadership that at a Negro Baptist meeting in Kansas City in September 1961 he "masterminded the invasion of the convention floor which resulted in the death of a delegate," according to the Rev. J. H. Jackson, Chicago Negro minister who is President of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.

In 1947 CORE and the Fellowship jointly sponsored a "Journey of Recon-

ciliation"—prototype of the 1961 "Freedom Rides." Confined to the Upper South, the earlier expedition avoided violence, but yielded twelve arrests. After the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on school desegregation (with subsequent civil disturbances throughout the South, most notably in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana); after the tension-generating Montgomery bus boycott of 1956; and after the provocative lunch-counter demonstrations of 1960, there seemed to be dramatic possibilities in a "sit-in on wheels," as Jim Farmer described the project to newsmen before he and his comrades got aboard the buses that May day in 1961.

III

THE BONDAGE from which the Riders undertook to free the Southern Negroes consists of various restrictions in the use of public facilities. Specifically, many bus stations have two waiting rooms. Typically, one is for interstate passengers without regard to race. To this room are assigned in addition colored intrastate passengers. There is another waiting room for white intrastate passengers. Should Adlai Stevenson and Kwame Nkrumah go to Jackson together and obey the law (which seems unlikely), Jackson Negroes could fraternize with them in the bus terminal, but Jackson white people (unless interstate passengers) could not. This is a hardship which most Jacksonians seem willing to endure. To CORE, however, the whole arrangement was intolerable, and the Freedom Ride was organized to bring against it not legal subtlety or pressure, but "direct, non-violent action."

It was Martin Luther King who, through the Montgomery bus boycott, had made "nonviolence" a vogue word

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of racial agitation. In a book attributed to King is this explanation of the method: "One may well ask, 'What is the nonviolent resister's justification for this ordeal to which he invites men, for this mass political application of the ancient doctrine of turning the other cheek?' The answer is found in the realization that unearned suffering is redemptive." What the Freedom Riders proposed to do was to get on the road and earn some unearned suffering. While no one can deny the righteousness of turning the other cheek, yet to contrive an occasion and deliberately provoke a blow on one cheek, in order by turning the other to humiliate an opponent, does seem like a lot of cheek.

Scientifically, violence involves the collision of moving bodies, motion is relative, and in any two-body collision the determination as to which is the hammer and which the anvil is all in the point of view. The little green men on a meteor think the earth hit them. Even when observers agree as to which is the moving and which the stationary body physically, responsibility for collision between the two may rest with either. If you deliberately throw yourself under a train, it is suicide, not murder by the engineer. Now, in this physically relativistic and morally responsible world of ours, it is about as nonviolent to send an ostentatiously integrated group of people into deep down Dixie as it is to stick an umbrella into a revolving propeller.

IV

NEVERTHELESS, for ten days the Freedom Ride was a rather dull show. In Charlotte, N. C. May 8 there was a tepid arrest for trespass. At Rock Hill, S. C. May 9 John Lewis, later to play a key role, tried to get into a white rest

room. He was punched by persons characterized as "some white hoodlums" by Albert Bigelow, a fifty-five-year-old architect of Cos Cob, Conn., who lent the Ride an old New England name, a Harvard degree, the cachet of urbanity, and a record of direct (illegal) action to interfere with U. S. nuclear tests in Nevada and at Eniwetok. Rock Hill Police Captain James Hunsucker suggested that charges be preferred against the "hoodlums," but the pilgrims nonviolently declined. (CORE was soon, however, to appeal to the President and the Attorney General for protection, thus invoking the implicitly violent police power. Similarly, Martin Luther King in 1957 endorsed Eisenhower's sending troops to Little Rock. Later, in a television interview, King explained that he is not a pacifist, and does not believe in "nonviolence at any price.")

In Winnsboro, S. C. May 10 one of the Negro Riders was arrested for trespass, and when the COREditor James Peck remonstrated, *he* was arrested for interfering with the police. After rather extended interrogation, the two were released and they caught up with their comrades the next day at Sumter. It was now Thursday, May 11, a full week out of Washington, and the unearned increment of suffering was negligible. It was a foregone conclusion that nothing would happen in Atlanta. The city Administration there was heavily mortgaged to the Negro vote, and passionately moderate regarding segregation. Desegregation of Atlanta schools was scheduled for fall, and CORE would not embarrass Mayor Hartsfield. Chafing, the Riders could well have asked themselves: Is this a phony sit-in? When will there be something to be nonviolent about?

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Alabama answered with ten days that shook the world of CORE.

V

Sunday, May 14. Two buses left Atlanta for Birmingham. West of Anniston the Greyhound was hit by a Coca Cola bottle filled with gasoline. Passengers escaped out of the fire into a frying-pan of fisticuffs, but eventually got to Birmingham. The Trailways Bus stopped in Anniston, and according to Dr. Walter Bergman, 61, former Michigan State professor, "The driver said he wasn't going to move until the Negroes moved to the back of the bus. At that time about ten men attacked Charles Person, a student at Morehouse University, Atlanta. Then James Peck stepped forward, then they turned on us. Peck was beaten about the face and got a deep cut on his scalp. They beat me and were kicking me. And then they threw the Negroes and others over me. There was no other violence until we got to Birmingham."

In Birmingham, Howard K. Smith of CBS was an eye-witness: "When the bus arrived, the toughs grabbed the passengers into alleys and corridors, pounding them with pipes, with key rings, and with fists. One passenger was knocked down at my feet by twelve of the hoodlums and his face was beaten and kicked until it was a bloody pulp . . . I watched some of [the hoodlums] discussing their achievements of the day. That took place just under Police Commissioner [Eugene] Connor's window." And, it may be added, under Howard K. Smith's nose.

Monday, May 15. CORE decided to abandon the Freedom Ride when Governor John Patterson said: "The people of the state are so enraged I cannot guarantee protection for this bunch of

rabble-rousers." The Riders were airlifted out of Birmingham, after a delay due to a telephone bomb threat, on an Eastern Air Lines flight to New Orleans. *At this time it was thought that the Freedom Ride was over.* Early in the morning of the same day, however, in Tennessee, where John Lewis (of the Rock Hill episode) had furloughed from the Ride to take an examination at the American Baptist Theological Seminary, a group of sit-in experts known as the Nashville Non-violent Movement was headed by Jim Lawson (see above, p. 2). It had as "coordinating secretary" Diane Nash, a light and bright Negro woman from Chicago. Jim Bevel was put in charge of the Birmingham expedition. The Nashville Nonviolent Movement had been established by a Student Central Committee from colleges in the Nashville area, and by the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference, an affiliate of Martin Luther King's SCLC.

Tuesday, May 16. Some of Bevel's command left Nashville for Alabama. Meanwhile, in Birmingham three white men were held by police in connection with Sunday's direct violent action against direct nonviolent action. One of the three, a twenty-year-old bakery worker, said he had gone to the bus station in response to a call from the Ku Klux Klan, but said he had not hit anybody.

Wednesday, May 17. James Peck held a news conference in New York. Swathed in bandages, he said the Freedom Ride had "spotlighted" evils of segregation. Apparently he did not know that the Nashville students were in Birmingham, where this very day they began their tour of duty with a provocative appearance at the Greyhound station, which resulted in their

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being taken into protective custody. Jailed with them, but released on bond, was Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham Negro preacher, and board member of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. This Fund had been the employer of the notorious Carl Braden, convicted of contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Thursday, May 18. This was a day of suspense. Another detachment of students arrived in Birmingham from Nashville. The first group was still in jail. There were now about twenty in Birmingham on the end of the Bevel-Nash-Lawson-King chain of command. To the press, Shuttlesworth undertook to speak for the students. They "came here," he said, "to ride out on a regularly scheduled bus. That is our [sic] irrevocable position." He said that more riders were ready to come from other areas outside Alabama, "wave after wave, if necessary." The press learned of the link which John Lewis represented between the Nashville Non-violent Movement and CORE.

Friday, May 19. This was a long day. At midnight Thursday the jailed students were got out of bed, told to dress, and taken in police cars to the Tennessee line. "Cross it," Commissioner Connor told them, "and save this state and yourself a lot of trouble." One of the Negroes replied, "We'll see you back in Birmingham about noon." They did. Ignoring an injunction of Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones to desist from testing segregation in Alabama, they repeatedly attempted to board buses for Montgomery. As drivers refused to make the run if the Riders got on, a crowd "in the thousands" was kept by police a block away from the station in every direction. The

impasse continued through the night, into Saturday.

Saturday, May 20. At 8:30 in the morning of this fateful day eighteen Negroes and three white persons got a bus for Montgomery—through some unexpected and still unexplained revision of attitude within the Greyhound system. (But see "Untold Story of the 'Freedom Rides,'" *U.S. News & World Report*, Oct. 23, 1961, Pages 76-79, where a role for Bobby Kennedy is indicated). Perhaps the driver hated Freedom Riders. Unlike Birmingham, Montgomery is not usually considered a tough town. Proud of its sobriquet, "Cradle of the Confederacy" (it was the capitol before Richmond was), it is the site of Maxwell Air University. But Montgomery had had experience with Martin Luther King. If what he represented was nonviolence, Montgomery would take violence. Action in Birmingham had been pretty well limited to the Klan and other semi-professionals. The professional touch was felt in Montgomery too, especially at the very beginning, but there was a great deal more that was spontaneous and unrehearsed. An observer on the ground reported that respectable people, goaded to extremity, are more dangerous than goons. This was not a lynch mob. If the crowd could have reached King it might have lynched him. But as it was, a certain difficulty of focus persisted, which probably accounts for the otherwise extraordinary fact that with a thousand people in a killing mood—"a huge and vicious crowd," said eye-witness *Life* Correspondent Norman Ritter feelingly—no body was killed. Half-killed, to a total of about twenty, were vicarious victims of three kinds: (1) Freedom Riders, (2) members of the press, (3) Presi-

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dential Aide John Seigenthaler. Innocent bystanders were hurt too, and AP so classified Seigenthaler, but probably he was hit by somebody that knew who he was. Some of the media men seemed surprised that Southern whites were more bitter toward them than toward the Negroes. "All this time," writes Ritter, describing a methodically brutal attack on an NBC cameraman and a *Life* photographer, "the freedom riders stood by unmolested." The thing is not surprising. First things first. Only a small minority of Negroes, but an overwhelming majority of the press, have injured the South.

Yet the severest injuries were evidently those of Freedom Riders James Zwerg, a white student from a Negro university (Fisk), and William F. H. Barbee, a Negro from the American Baptist Theological Seminary, who were rescued from probable death at the hands of the mob by Alabama Public Safety Director Floyd Mann, armed with a pistol. Zwerg and Barbee showed great tenacity of spirit. "We took a vow when we left Nashville that we would give our lives if necessary," said Zwerg. Barbee said: "We'll batter up your segregation institutions until they crumble to dust." They spoke from racially segregated wards of St. Jude's Catholic Hospital.

Sunday, May 21. Master of infuriation, King came to town (Montgomery), and was escorted to the First Baptist Church of his man Ralph Abernathy by sixty Federal Marshals. Governor Patterson exclaimed in disgust: "It looked like the President of the United States." But it was merely one of the President's friends—a better friend, apparently, than John Patterson. But the Marshals bid fair to be overwhelmed by the "howling mob" (AP)

which besieged the fifteen hundred Negroes packed into church by the allure of the charismatic leader. As the night wore on, Patterson did his duty. He declared martial law and sent the Alabama National Guard to rescue the Negroes, the Marshals, and King. In a published photograph (*Life*, June 2, 1961) one Guardsman, significantly, covers *his* face. No footnote to these riots is more bizarre than the fact that the Marshals sent to Montgomery numbered 666. Not everyone would notice that this is "the number of the beast" in *Revelation*, but a Baptist preacher would notice.

Monday May 22. This day CORE acknowledged, in effect, its error in having abandoned the Freedom Ride, and returned to what was now King's highway. Six COREmen—five by train from New Orleans, one by plane from New York—were greeted in Montgomery by Jim Farmer, who had come in from New York the night before. CORE headquarters had been swamped, said the *New York Times*, with telephone calls from all over. Yes, said CORE, we intend to do just that.

Tuesday, May 23. Still under the shield of the Alabama National Guard, Martin Luther King came from a four-hour meeting to announce at a news conference: "I am sure that these students are willing to face death if necessary." The Ride would proceed into Mississippi.

VI

NO ONE is sure yet just what happened in Jackson. The game was really over in a hurry, though a "broken-back" operation by the Riders dragged through the summer. Or perhaps the Riders played so subtle a game that the score is still not posted? Perhaps the score

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was posted—with the Riders winning after all—in the form of the ICC ruling in the fall? But that is really getting an ICC ruling the hard way. And what is it worth? There have been ICC rulings before.

No, at the end of the campaign in September, Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett could, and did, make the Beowulfian boast: "We have defeated the NAACP and CORE. We have captured the entire army of 'freedom riders' and made them our prisoners. We have frustrated the integrationists and moderates at every turn, and we're going to do it as long as I'm Governor. It may well be recorded that our victories marked the turning point in the war against race-mixing." Then, to show that Jackson is by no means inaccessible to the winds of argot from Madison Avenue, he added that Mississippi, in its stand on segregation, has built an "image of invincibility."

Yet on May 24, with one thousand Alabama National Guardsmen, and an air cover which might have been useful in Cuba in April, escorting twenty-seven Freedom Riders and twenty newsmen toward the state, even the Governor of Mississippi could not be sure what would happen. Only one thing was certain. The Riders could not be permitted to "integrate" the bus station. The Governor of Mississippi would have known that, even if he had not just witnessed such a timely demonstration in Montgomery of what might be expected. And there were people in his own state physically strong but morally just weak enough to be a little bit jealous of Montgomery. From their point of view, too, Mississippi had its reputation to think of. What Ross Barnett as a conscientious chief magistrate, sworn to uphold the peace and

dignity of the state, had to worry about was preventing mob action even *before* the Riders "integrated" anything. On Tuesday he had sent the Attorney General of the United States a telegram advising him that he would "do a great disservice to the agitators" [italics added] and the people of the United States if you do not advise the agitators to stay out of Mississippi." He added, with perhaps more propriety than conviction, that Mississippi would "work out its own problems, as always, and keep the peace."

Actually, the Governor could be reasonably sure that if he got the Riders to Jackson without incident, he could preserve the peace. Also, by meeting the buses at the state line, putting Guardsmen aboard, and providing military and police escort on the highway, he could probably keep good control through the hundred-mile stretch from the Alabama line to Jackson, so long as the buses kept rolling. There was still a problem. Certain passengers on one of the buses with the Freedom Riders had tickets to Meridian, Mississippi's second largest city, only twenty miles from the Alabama line. Barnett suspected that if the *agents provocateurs* on the Freedom Ride went into the bus station in Meridian they would have an easy time fulfilling their destiny. At one o'clock in the morning of the day the Riders were due he called the Trailways manager in Meridian. Highway US 80 bypasses the main part of the city. What were the possibilities? The trouble, explained the manager, was that a ticket was a contract. A passenger could sue the company if he were not delivered to the station. Barnett is a lawyer. The ticket reads "Meridian," doesn't it? Yes. "Let your passengers out in the corporate limits. I'll have

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police cars give them cab service to any part of the city. That's better than they would normally get."

As the first Freedom Ride bus was arriving in Jackson that afternoon, Bobby Kennedy was issuing from Washington his appeal for a "cooling-off period." Ross Barnett was doing all right. Of course he had one advantage over John Patterson, in that he had never done the Kennedy family a favor and was not therefore a proper object of ingratitude.

Mississippi took the Freedom Riders the way the New York Yankees took Cincinnati. And partly for the same reason. The familiar reason which nobody understands. A champion is different. And unless you know you can beat him, what you know about him will beat you. The Riders were not ready for Mississippi. They were paralyzed. Jackson is a hundred miles from the Alabama line. Within two hours after they entered the state, the Riders on each bus were in jail in the Mississippi capitol. Ordered by Jackson police to leave a white waiting room, the Negroes mechanically uttered their refusal. Then obediently they went to the station wagon—and to their segregated cells. The whole operation was incredibly quiet, and swift. After Montgomery, and after the buses, the hush of the Hinds County jail was another world. Perhaps in some deep atavistic way the Negroes for the first time, after a violent experience and a long voyage, felt safe from a powerful African King.

There was a lot of feeling that the Ride had gone too far. *New York Times* writer Claude Sitton reported from Jackson that a prominent (but anonymous) Southern liberal said: "This becomes a dare, not a protest. I agree

with the Attorney General that it is time for the Freedom Ride to end." A Negro leader (anonymous) agreed: "What concerns me is what may happen to Southern Negroes after the Freedom Riders return to the safety of their homes outside the Deep South." Martin Luther King would not agree. King, said Sitton, "was reached by phone at his office in Atlanta." Jim Farmer and Jim Lawson would have been easier to reach. They were in jail right there in Jackson.

During the ensuing summer a number of the Freedom Riders must have recalled the old story about the man who telephoned his lawyer for advice. Whatever he had done, the lawyer said: "Oh, they can't put you in jail for that." "Well," said the man, "that's where I'm phoning from."

Mississippi put between two and three hundred Freedom Riders in jail, kept them there varying periods of time up to four months, fined them heavily, and beat some of them—in Federal Court.

The Riders were arrested under Section 2087.5 of the Mississippi Code of 1942, as amended. Elizabeth Porter Wyckoff, a white woman from New York City, petitioned Federal Judge S. C. Mize for a writ of habeas corpus, alleging *inter alia* that her imprisonment was a denial of due process of law under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the U. S. Constitution. In the course of denying the writ the Judge observed: "Petitioner was not convicted of a violation of any law with reference to integration or segregation, but was convicted of a breach of the peace in refusing to disperse and move on under the direction of a lawful officer . . . Petitioner's own state, New York, has a very similar statute and

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with the same purpose as the Mississippi statute. See Section 722, New York Penal Law."

A white woman! Even Hugo Black couldn't help her. July 26, 1961, on appeal from Judge Mize's ruling, Justice Black, with Justice Tom C. Clark concurring, denied Miss Wyckoff a writ of habeas corpus "because factual allegations fall far short of showing that there are not Mississippi state processes available by appeal or otherwise . . . to challenge the state conviction."

On a petition of five other Freedom Riders, Federal Judge W. Harold Cox observed in colorful prose: "These petitioners heralded their arrival in Jackson from other states for provocative purposes. Their status as interstate passengers is extremely doubtful. Their destination was Jackson but their objective was trouble."

Mississippi is fortunate in its Federal Judges. Judge Mize said in the Wyckoff opinion: "The wisdom of this statute [20875] is exemplified by oral argument of counsel for petitioner when he refers to the bloodshed that occurred in Montgomery. No such occurrences happened in Mississippi, but had it not been for the orderly enforcement by the officers of the State of Mississippi under the provisions of this statute, such occurrences could have happened."

And there, from a Federal Judge, you have the case for segregation. In Alabama segregation ordinances were not enforced, and violence resulted. In Mississippi *segregation laws* were not enforced either, but under a different kind of statute the separation of the races was accomplished in time to preserve peace. Thus the effect of segregation was achieved in a crisis, and the crisis surmounted. (But had the segregation laws never been called in ques-

tion by the Supreme Court, the crisis would never have occurred.

Public-relationswise, Mississippi tacked skillfully against the wind. When Jackson's Mayor Allen Thompson appeared on "Today" on TV, a columnist in the *Detroit Free Press* wrote: "He was a combination of Rhett Butler and Old Folks at Home—and I have seen the initial mail response. The Mayor made out all right nationally." A reporter for the San Francisco *Examiner* wrote of Citizens' Council executive W. J. Simmons that he "is a Harvard Graduate," which is incorrect, and, "His eyes reflected sharp, incisive intelligence," which is correct. Bernie Wynn revealed in the Phoenix *Arizona Republic* that he had once been an undercover member of CORE—"the St. Louis cell," he said, and documented the obvious connotations. UPI writer Cliff Sessions described the effect on observers of the collision between Mississippi and the Freedom Riders: "At Jackson's Trailways bus terminal, a cordon of officers waited. They kept crowds on the move. When arriving riders tried to integrate rest rooms, they were asked politely not to do that. They politely refused to obey. Then they were as politely arrested. It was nonviolence in reverse—apparently part of a carefully laid plan."

VII

WHY DID KING send the Ride into Mississippi? Quite inelegantly, he goofed. Probably because of an exaggerated concept of the potentialities of black nationalism. "What drives the militants on," explained *Newsweek* (June 5), "is a sense of something the American Negro has never had before: A history of his own. They see in the racial struggle in the South the first

King's Highway

chance the Negro has had to determine his own life, and they are confident that Little Rock and Montgomery will someday mean to Negroes what the Alamo does to Texans."

Self-determination of the American Negro is something the Communist Party is supposed to have discarded in December 1959. The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, in Moscow in 1928, established as an objective a Black Peoples' Republic to be carved out of the Southern United States as part of the struggle for liberation and self-determination of oppressed peoples. In a meeting of the Communist Party of the United States in Harlem, in December 1959, this goal of self-determination in the Black Belt was declared to have been superseded by the goal of full Civil Rights. But *Newsweek* suggests that King and Company have picked it up again. And certainly charismatic leadership in emulation of Kwame Nkrumah, which is King's way, can hardly be directed toward integration, though if successful it could contribute mightily to U. S. disintegration.

In the spectrum of the U. S. Negro leadership King lies between Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP on one side, and Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims on the other. Possibly he would classify Marshall as opportunist and Muhammad as sectarian. But the direction is away from the NAACP and toward the Muslims. The once decorous Southern Regional Council said bluntly at the outset of operation Freedom Ride: "If white Southerners have any good sense, it will not have to be a truly extremist group next year — and there are such lurking in the wings." The respectable Council sounds as if it can hardly wait. The intellectual

Nation (July 29) is still more explicit: "Nonviolence, as Dr. King puts it, offers the Southern Negro 'the sense of a way out'; if that way is barred, the avenues of violence may beckon." Paradoxically, perhaps, this which sounds like idle bluster in Mississippi suggests a genuine threat in Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and New York.

Three alternatives confront the American Negro: (1) *Paternalism with concomitant segregation*, which though rhetorically unpopular the majority of Southern Negroes would evidently like to keep. At the NAACP's "mass rally to protest the jailing" of the Freedom Riders in Jackson May 26, by actual count 127 people showed up, including 40 to 50 who were on the program. Most Negroes would probably accept the formula of Albert Schweitzer: "I am your brother, it is true, but your elder brother." (2) *Integration*, which an ambitious minority seek and in the North find, especially among privileged but insecure whites, such as Norman Mailer. (3) *Black nationalism*, with which the revolutionary demon of our time induces political intoxication, and for which the slogan of "Integration" may serve as a war cry. Freedom Rider Barbee's exclamation in the Montgomery hospital, "We'll batter up your segregation institutions until they crumble to dust," certainly portends not peace but a sword — evidently more in the Islamic than the Christian sense. Negroes who object (the majority do not object) to Jim Crow signs are not moved by any sense of physical deprivation so much as by resentment of the power of the whites to put the signs up. Thus *Integration with whites* is an *anti-white* slogan.

Historically, a measure of paternalism, inextricably associated with a

King's Highway

measure of segregation, is the distinctly American way of achieving a practicable biracial *modus vivendi*. The markers along King's highway read *African example, Black nationalism, Civil disobedience*—an ABC which leads to

political *Dissolution* in America as in Africa. The route of the Freedom Riders looks like a fine blacktop in Ghana, but in the All-American, Miss-America Magnolia State of Mississippi that road is closed.



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THE INTEMPERATE EDUCATOR

by

RUSSELL KIRK

AT A WELL-REPUTED private university, not long ago, a faculty committee was selecting the people to be invited as guest lecturers during the next year. One member of the faculty suggested the name of a famous professor of philosophy, Dr. Sidney Hook. This scholar is a forthright Marxian socialist, long associated with American "liberal" and "progressive" causes. But Dr. Hook also happens to be a courageous anti-Communist, opposing the presence of Communist teachers in the colleges — not simply because he disagrees with them, but because they are conspiratorial agents, discrediting the Academy and deliberately violating professional ethics.

Yet the dean of the faculty at this university angrily vetoed that suggestion. "What?" cried the dean. "Hook? That Fascist reactionary? Why, he's against academic freedom." The dean — not himself a Communist — was all in favor of academic freedom: liberty, that is, for anyone who does not deviate from the dean's private convictions. There are no real enemies to the Left, the dean thinks, and any heretic who believes so should be anathema.

Nowadays the social opinions of numerous American college and university teachers are held with a defiant rigidity. Though these scholars may praise complete freedom of opinion in the abstract, still if someone advances an argument running counter to their political prejudices, they reach for bell, book, and candle. Having known some

hundreds of professors on fifty or sixty campuses, I venture here to describe this professional intemperance, and to suggest its causes.

Writing to me about a certain "liberal" conformity in textbooks for courses in American history, a distinguished historian of science observes, "Someone ought to analyze the reasons why an entire class of scholars, teachers, and workers in the field of American history should think so much alike. The situation resembles unpleasantly the pre-revolutionary conditions at the Russian universities of Tsarist days, where faculty and students formed a hostile falange against the regime. That our American government should seem in the same position as the Tsar, is very depressing."

My correspondent, born in Eastern Europe, once was a Communist, and knows American campuses well. Though there may be some measure of hyperbole in his comparison with the Tsarist universities, it remains certain that many professors are profoundly discontented with modern American life, and endeavor to arouse a similar dissatisfaction among their students.

"He that lives in a college, after his mind is sufficiently stocked with learning," Edmund Burke wrote while he was still a young man, "is like a man who, having built and rigged a ship, should lock her up in a dry dock." Now I submit that the principal threat to academic freedom in the United States comes from drydocked minds: the

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minds of ideologues within the walls of the Academy. Some men who spend their lives within the Academy grow mellow; but others turn sour. The minds of such have been drydocked, and that in rather a mean and ruinous dock. They put one to thinking of Wordsworth's lines:

"The good die first;

And they whose hearts are dry as
summer dust

Burn to the socket."

Theirs is the glory of Cyrus P. Whittle, the Yankee schoolmaster in Santayana's novel *The Last Puritan*: to demolish famous reputations and to expose as shams the most cherished traditions of our culture. Too many professors feel that they have been invested with the prophetic afflatus; and, having discarded theology and morals like so much antiquated rubbish, they are thrown back upon the dreary resources of Twentieth-Century nihilism. To feel one's self a prophet, but at the same time to insist "I am, and none else beside me," is to indulge a dangerous mood. For lack of anything better, such a professor often turns to some "political religion," some ideology, as a substitute for the traditions of civility and right reason.

II

MOST FACULTY MEMBERS, according to Dr. George N. Shuster, President Emeritus of Hunter College, have been sincerely dedicated to their profession. But their taste for a kind of secular religion also has tended sometimes toward gross intolerance. As Dr. Shuster writes, "Many have been or are sons of rabbis or ministers of the Gospel who have preferred secular learning to the lore of Scripture. These have given to the universities and colleges they

have served a very special impulse to achieve innovation and even reform. Perhaps they are primarily responsible for a quality which no one can dissociate from the American campus and which is virtually unknown in Europe—a characteristic to be defined on the one hand as an almost belligerent addiction to freedom and on the other as a commitment to a 'liberal position,' not quite a dogma but almost one, which assays the Devil according to the degree of his 'conservatism.'"

Nowadays, the bundle of liberal or radical quasi-dogmas of the bellicose professor usually is some variety of socialism, though often called "liberalism"; sometimes it goes so far as Communism. But this choice of allegiance is almost accidental, dictated only by the climate of opinion in our time. In another age and country, the secular preacher in the college, the professor whose mind is in the sour drydock, might turn to Fascism, or anarchism, or Lord knows what.

The disease of our time, Edmund Burke said of his own era, is an intemperance of intellect: That is quite as true in 1961. An intemperance of intellect, which Burke called "the cause of all our other diseases," provokes the present controversy over academic freedom. Zealots of various persuasions have been attempting, sometimes with good intentions, to convert the higher learning into an instrument for "social reconstruction," or for instilling "integration with the American democratic way of life," or for "remaking human nature." Usually their endeavors are intemperate; for it is intoxicating to try to transmute Wisdom into Power. So far as academic freedom is endangered today, that freedom can be preserved only if we hold fast to an old principle:

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that the aim of education is the improvement of the human reason and imagination, for the individual's own sake. The Academy gained its peculiar freedom because the Academy was temperate. If the Academy becomes tipsy, blown about by every wind of doctrine, filled with professors who prefer power to wisdom, people eager to adore the idols of the marketplace—why, then the Academy will have lost its principle of temperance, and soon will lose its liberties.

This intellectual intemperance is not confined to colleges and universities: in some ways it is worse in the public schools, for decades suffering under what Professor Harold Clapp calls "the stranglehold on education"—that is, the domination of the National Education Association hierarchy, with its muddled zealotry for the obsolete doctrines of John Dewey and his disciples.

Nearly everyone in these United States favors academic freedom—in the abstract. But the tendency of democracies to seek virtual unanimity of opinion, at every level of society, which Tocqueville saw at work long ago, continues to operate in America. For many people nowadays, among them professors, "academic freedom" means perfect liberty to agree with *their* opinions. So long as the alleged violation of academic freedom is against a latter-day "liberal," a number of these gentlemen are ready to protest vehemently. But if the unfortunate is a conservative, or an old-fangled liberal, or even an anti-Communist Marxist—why, what do deviationists like that need freedom for?

III

I OFFER a few examples. Some months ago, the faculty senate of Michigan

State University voted to protest against the provision of the National Defense Education Act which requires loyalty oaths from students accepting loans from the federal government. The vote was four hundred against the loyalty oath, *one* in favor of the loyalty oath. That obdurate one professor was reprimanded by the university authorities. And doubtless many of the four hundred talk anxiously about the "menace of conformity" in America.

Mr. William Buckley, Jr., editor of *National Review*, was invited to speak by Washington University, St. Louis. Before he arrived, and during his visit there, he was libelously vilified by a professor of English, who denounced him as a "Fascist," and scourged the university authorities for presuming to allow a man so notoriously opposed to radicalism to speak in a university hall. The terms employed by the learned professor would have been rather strong for the Communist *Worker*.

A Michigan county superintendent of schools held a teacher-conference on Communism, inviting reputable speakers who described the menace of the Soviet system. For this temerity, some of the leading lights of the public-school educationist hierarchy in Michigan endeavored to prevent the superintendent's holding any more conferences, and otherwise to cause trouble for him with state authorities.

At a college in New York, in 1959, a teacher of German was anonymously accused of having been a member of the Nazi party, fighting against the Russians during the Second World War. Members of the faculty gave this news to the newspapers and organized protests against their colleague. The professor of German resigned, though he had not been accused of introducing

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dangerous ideas into his classes, or of being a totalitarian nowadays. No sooner had he resigned, than some of the very people who had denounced him demanded that the American Association of University Professors investigate the college administration, arguing that acceptance of the professor's resignation constituted administrative discrimination because of a teacher's old political associations! The aim of the 'liberal' professors in this case seems to have been to use the episode as an excuse for allowing communist and fellow-traveling professors to teach without challenge. With such scholars, the exercise of academic freedom is all a matter of whose ox is gored.

IV

WELL, real academic freedom is a right or privilege enjoyed by scholars in institutions of higher learning. The theory of academic freedom is that the search after Truth involves certain risks: for truth is not always popular in the marketplace, and there are opinions and fields of speculation which cannot prudently be discussed in the daily press, or in public meetings. Academic freedom is intended to give the scholar a measure of security against arbitrary interference with his study and teaching — although such security can never be perfect. Now every right we enjoy has some corresponding duty. The obligation which corresponds to the right of academic freedom is this: the scholar must be dedicated to the conservation and the advancement of the Truth. He must be the guardian of the wisdom of our ancestors, and the active thinker who reconciles permanence and change in his generation. If, failing to fulfill those responsibilities, he becomes a secular

propagandist, an ideological indoctrinator, a man in love with power, then he falls derelict in his duty, losing his sanction for the peculiar freedom of the Academy. He ought to be, in fine, a man of temperate intellect.

But nowadays, according to the poet and scholar Ludwig Lewisohn, it is "the conservative professor and student, the religious professor and student" who are a forlorn and persecuted remnant. And Dr. Morton Cronin, writing in *The New Republic*, ironically says that some conservatives are tolerated on American campuses — so long as they are quiet, not vexing faculty meetings with their obsolete opinions. These gentlemen, Dr. Cronin adds, are the Uncle Toms of Academe; they must content themselves with murmuring that "they're not ashamed of being black."

One liberal professor has grown somewhat disquieted at the intolerance of some colleagues: Dr. Ralph Gilbert Ross, at the University of Minnesota. Writing in *Commentary*, he says that a faculty committee, of which he was a member, refused to promote a professor on the ground that he once had said something in favor of Senator Joseph McCarthy. Mr. Ross himself is no admirer of the late Joseph McCarthy; and he adds, uneasily, that perhaps this discrimination may be justified by the argument that anyone who sympathized with Senator McCarthy was stupid. But the episode affected him disagreeably. It well might. When disagreement on current politics is made the index of stupidity, not much scope remains for academic freedom.

At a municipal college, a professor with many publications to his credit was due to receive permanent tenure. A faculty committee objected to his

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candidacy. (Most of the committee members had not published much, so that one is tempted to think of Aesop on the fox and the sour grapes.) But their charge against their colleague amounted to an accusation of personal immorality. When pressed to be more specific on an indictment similar to that brought against Socrates, they replied that the candidate was "against democracy." What did they mean? Well, the committee said, sourly, the professor had written some unkind things about that great democratic educator John Dewey. One is left to assume that academic freedom means the liberty to agree with Dewey. In this affair, despite the efforts of the faculty committee, the college's president sustained and promoted the "immoral" professor. I doubt not that several of the committee members believe that Voltaire was a great fellow; and they are willing to die for — their own monopoly of the classroom.

Their discrimination against the academic dissenter is not purely political: it extends to questions of religious belief. In some colleges, the established professorial orthodoxy is quite as intolerant of religious conviction as the medieval Church was intolerant of heresy. At a fashionable women's college, faculty members are cautioned by the administration not to "get involved" in students' religious societies. The Roman Catholic scholar is the worst bugaboo of such educators, but in diminished degree this hostility may extend to every variety of Christianity, excepting—and then grudgingly—only the more enthusiastic advocates of the "Social Gospel." A "liberal" scholar of this stamp frequently equates Communism and Catholicism as "totalitarian movements," arguing that the Catholic

professor ought not to be admitted to the Academy because he is "committed to dogmas," is "not his own master," and so is unable to "pursue the truth wherever it may lead." (All truth, you know, leads to secularized "liberalism.")

A priest in Detroit, for instance, though attached to a municipal university, was rebuffed by a professor of sociology, who refused even to argue with him in print, "because Father M— lacks the necessary scholarly disciplines." That the priest happened also to be a Doctor of Philosophy of a secular university was brushed aside as irrelevant: every priest, the implication ran, by nature is an obscurant.

V

AND SOMETIMES this discrimination is sectional, or regional, in character. The seaboard states of the Northeast, in the view of some orthodox Twentieth-Century "liberals," are the repository of learning and enlightenment; while the wicked South is the pit of blackest reaction and ignorance. If the doctrinaire liberal never has been south of Mason's and Dixon's line, his righteous prejudice is so much the stronger. He doesn't need to *see* the South: to go there would turn his stomach, he knows. He has read about the South in Mr. Erskine Caldwell's romances, and has beheld it depicted on Broadway; and that's evidence enough. If someone interjects that the most flourishing school of American writing today is Southern—why, the impertinent heretic must be a Fascist and a racist.

An English friend of mine, new to this country, suggested to Northern liberal acquaintances that he might enroll at Duke University. "What?" they murmured, scandalized. "Duke? That's

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a *Southern* university." Such contempt sometimes extends, though not so strongly, to the Middle West. These states, an Eastern ritualistic liberal knows, are the Bible Belt, the abode of the late Joseph McCarthy, and a cultural wasteland. Even scholars of outwardly tolerable views, if they have emerged from this desolation, may be suspect as corrupted by prairie bigotry, until they have demonstrated their loyalty to ritualistic liberalism by signing the approved petitions against nuclear armament, South Africa, and the like.

But above and beyond politics and religion and region, the all-embracing conformity exacted by the ritualistic liberals is conformity to the doctrine of "non-commitment." A scholar, these gentlemen argue, ought to be committed to no firm point of view about anything. Though he ought to pursue Truth, he never must embrace her. His mind, like that of John Locke's infant, ought to be a blank tablet, so far as first principles of morals and politics and taste are concerned. He should doubt all things, for the sake of doubting; he should demolish old prejudices in students' minds. Nothing is settled, or ought to be; the function of the university is to "destroy all barriers to the questing spirit of man." At one state college, certain professors of education, sociology, and psychology — dedicated "liberals" all — drew up an elaborate set of tests to be administered to all entering freshmen and all graduating seniors, for determining their "value preferences" and "environmental prejudices," and how efficaciously the college does its good work of eradicating stubborn opinions acquired from tradition and family instruction.

One question in this set was the inquiry whether the student believed that

"it is wrong for a brother to have sexual relations with his sister." The student who replied "yes" was classified, so far as this question went, as inclined toward irrational prejudices. Not that the liberal professors favored incest on principle; they were in favor of nothing on principle; they simply aspired to "give the student an open mind" and "set free the inquiring rationality." When the tests were analyzed, they found, presumably to their sorrow, that graduating seniors left college with the very prejudices they had entertained as entering freshmen: the college had failed in its mission.

Whether the liberal professors really act upon this absolute relativism is another matter. At an Ohio university, a decade ago, some of these scholars proposed that all members of the faculty be required to vow that they would teach only by "the empirical method." This, it turned out, meant the philosophical and social principles of John Dewey. Only after heated debate was the proposal defeated. In politics, the ritualistic liberals affirm, a scholar ought to have no commitments — except, that is, to democracy and liberalism. Strong affirmation of faith in democracy and liberalism isn't commitment; it's merely The Truth. And who defines democracy and liberalism? Why, a faculty committee of latter-day liberals. Who else could?

At one great university, a conservative scholar was proposed for an appointment. No, never, said the doctrinaire liberals: he's committed to a Point of View. They wouldn't for the world think of depriving him of his right to express that Point of View — except at their university. Some brave soul suggested, at this moment, that the faculty already included several emin-

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ent men of the Left. "Nonsense!" said the majority; commitment in *that* direction — well, it's harmless, anyway.

These instances are almost numberless. Last year Dr. Glenn Campbell was appointed to the headship of the Hoover Institution, at Stanford University. Members of the faculty promptly inquired of him whether he shared many of the views of the Institution's founder, Mr. Herbert Hoover. When he replied in the affirmative, the faculty senate—by a small majority, it is true—voted that they disapproved of his appointment. Fortunately for the cause of real academic freedom, it was not in the faculty's power to remove him.

VI

HERE I HAVE SET DOWN some fragmentary evidence of the malady of the intemperate educator. Upon many American campuses, the prevailing climate of opinion remains — if modified — still a quasi-collectivistic liberalism, among faculty politicians and those energetic persons who push themselves to the chairmanships of lecture-committees and tenure-committees. Theirs is a wonderously illiberal liberalism. The most charitable view a dispassionate observer can take of these gentlemen is that they do not understand the meaning of their own favorite word 'liberal.' At a Wisconsin college, some young instructors objected to having any known conservative speak on the campus, because "this is a *liberal* arts college." Conceivably they really were ignorant that political liberalism is something much younger than the liberal arts; unaware that the liberal education which John Henry Newman praised is something quite different from the partisan social liberalism which Newman detested. But ignorance is a

poor excuse for a professor.

A gentleman with much experience of our universities observes to me that many professors really are not interested in true academic freedom, however great an outcry they may make about alleged threats to their right of free expression. What some professors mean, when they say "academic freedom," is academic power. They do not truly desire to conserve or extend truth, or to teach a body of knowledge to intelligent students. What they really desire is the authority to bend their colleagues and their students to their own will. They want to compel their colleagues, and their students, and the world at large, to submit to some particular ideology; and even that ideology is not so important to them as the sense of power which accompanies the opportunity to propagandize, to indoctrinate, to remould society and human nature radically.

Most of us are too fond of power. Harder to repress than lechery or gluttony or avarice, this lust for power is the strongest of vices. But the scholar professes to have given up his claim to power in favor of the service of truth. And so a professor lusting after power, under the cloak of academic freedom, converts liberty into license. Such a power-tipsy professor is not truly seeking freedom either for himself or for others; he really wishes to impose his own will and opinions, without much scruple, upon whomever he happens to have under his influence.

I am not saying that this vice of intemperance afflicts *most* American educators. The majority of them are tolerant enough, interested in their discipline rather than in power. Nor am I saying that intemperance and the power-lust are peculiar to *American* professors; as M. Raymond Aron suggests in his book,

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The Opium of the Intellectuals, this situation has been at least as bad in the French universities; and I have met at Oxford colleges certain influential professors who are quite as politically dogmatic and impatient of contradiction as are their American counterparts.

I am saying only this: on many of our campuses the belligerent political radical or anti-religious zealot has an influence out of all proportion to the numerical strength of his clique. It is up to the Academy to regain its own order, justice, and freedom.

We Pause To Remark

We like the review, in just three sentences, of one of the contemporary pedagogical masterpieces, by a confused but determined teacher. The book, she said, sets forth the following striking and important truths:

1. Individually, the individual needs to satisfy his individual needs.
2. Basically, the basic problem of the basic individual is to find a basic for his basic needs.
3. In order for the learner to learn a learning experience, the learner must first experience the learning experience.

What we cannot understand is how on earth our grandfathers ever got an education from teachers who did not understand such simple and fundamental principles.

* * *

But there is no reason why we should rest on our laurels, even today. So we welcome the pamphlet, *Quest For Quality*, issued by the Government Printing Office. It is described in the GPO release as: "A report summarizing research designed to compare the effectiveness of independent study and the more traditional methods of college instruction as they are related to student learning; and describing some of the new curriculum patterns which are being inaugurated to improve instruction. 1960, published 1961. Catalog No. FS 5.250:50016." And the price for all of this scientifically distilled wisdom is only fifteen cents.

* * *

And under the influence of the geniuses in the top echelons of the National Education Association, the self-improvement of Education by the Educationists is unceasing. Typical subjects of the theses for which brilliant newcomers into this highly honored field have won their Master's or Doctor's Degrees in Education have included the following: *Characteristics of Principal Officers of Parent-Teacher Associations of Pennsylvania in Relation to the Efficiency of the Association*; *A Survey of the Requirements for the Master's Degree in Physical Education*; *Effects of Coaching on Acquisition of Skill in Basket Ball Free Throw*; and *The Direction of Public School Relations in Cities of the United States*. Of the last thesis the abstract in the *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* is itself summarized by Albert Lynd, in his *Quackery In The Public Schools*, as follows: "The conclusion seems to be that centralized organizations are likely to be centralized, while decentralized organizations are likely to be decentralized." And the *Encyclopedia* itself quotes the brilliant and serious summation of the work of one researcher: "Desirable professional attitudes toward teaching must be inculcated in institutions which prepare teachers so that a professional attitude may be developed in prospective teachers." Could anything be fairer?

LUXURY LINER ON A CRUISE TO NOWHERE

by

E. MERRILL ROOT

EVERYONE admits today that conventional public education in America has gone wrong. Even those who are most responsible for its going wrong admit that it has not gone right—though their explanation too often seems to be that it just hasn't gone *far enough* in the wrong direction! There is a great din of discussion about "education," most of it (in Virgil's great phrase) *vox et praeterea nihil* — sound and nothing else. Pedagogues open and shut their mouths over words that lead through din of doubtful talk into mazes of more doubtful thinking. Their conclusion seems to be that "education" has gone wrong—and so we need more of it, of just the same sort, and more money so that it can go more richly wrong.

Conventional public education in America (from grade schools through state universities) reminds me of a luxury liner tied to a questionable pier. It is a lavish and expensive liner, built of tin outside and plush and mahogany inside, and gaudy with all the latest gimmicks and gadgets. It has a large library full of the wrong books, especially "contemporary" books that indoctrinate us with relativism, "adjustment," "tolerance" of the intolerable, propaganda for "a new collectivist order," and the fashionable literary and philosophic nihilism of the day. It has lush *class-rooms* — but little *class-work*. It has large swimming-pools, ample tennis-courts and streamlined kitchens

where girls may learn to cook in ways that make them reluctant to cook in the more modest kitchens of their present homes or of the homes they will someday have. It is noisy with "audio-visual aids." It has huge auditoriums where visiting "celebrities" may tell the passengers how wrong Columbus was to discover America, or how unworthy America is of having been discovered. There are large bands playing loud jazz. There are "bull-sessions" (especially in the pilot's cabin), where eager but misinformed youths discuss how the liner might sail if it ever decided to sail, and take turns twisting the wheel because "everyone has a right to his opinion." But there is little concentration on the discipline and skill and courage that alone can make a great pilot or a handy seaman. And while there is much vague talk about "the Country of the Future," there is no warning about icebergs or submarines, no concept of the real and solid continent toward which we should sail, no understanding of the Happy Isles which are the goal of man. It is indeed a luxury liner: the pampered passengers look over her lofty sides and laugh patronizingly at the little *Pinta* in which Columbus once sailed out to find the New World.

If the liner does sail on a specimen cruise into Buzzard's Bay, the captains and pursers and nurses administer the pills of "adjustment" and "mental

Luxury Liner On A Cruise To Nowhere

health" (including the "tests" guaranteed to make the healthiest ill!), so that the sunshine passengers and summer students may never fall seasick. And if they ever do put out to the sea itself, the captain — or his unreasonable facsimile — gives the bull-session boys the wheel to swing, and jovially assures them that Dag Hammarskjöld has purged the sea of icebergs and that the latest "Summit" has certified the absence of all submarines. So the liner goes on its merry way — bands playing, passengers dancing, audio-visual aids clicking, everybody happy (or slap-happy). The liner goes on its way — lavish, doomed, titanic.

II

SUCH IS THE PARABLE of contemporary public education. And the pursers and nurses and officers love it so much that they clamor for "Federal aid" that will make the liner even more titanic and the passengers even more comfortably "adjusted" to the sea. They never speak of stars; or, if they do, they say that the North Star is merely "relative" to the Dog Star, or they call the latest sudden firefly a "star," or they say that it is unimportant anyway where you go if only the pilots have all been trained in "Teachers' Colleges." More swimming-pools, more plush and mahogany, more bull-sessions, more audio-visual aids, more jazz and skittles — and surely we shall "educate" the passengers! So, with bands blaring and passengers dancing and "discussing," the luxury liner lies useless at the pier or plunges doomed through the ocean.

Longfellow, that great poet of the sea, knew better. When his dilettante Count Arnaldos asks "the secret of the sea,"

"Would'st thou," so the helmsman answered,

"Learn the secret of the sea?"

"Only those who brave its dangers

Comprehend its mystery."

But our "helmsmen" in "education" deny equally the dangers and (even worse) "the mystery."

The wise Confucius said long ago: "Him who does not strive for himself, I do not assist; to him who does not struggle for the expression, I do not reveal it; if I show one corner to a man and he knows not how to apply it to the three remaining corners, I do not repeat my teaching."

Indeed true education is very different from our luxury liner. It is more like an old Yankee Clipper, or even a catboat or dinghy: education might be defined as a catboat with Mark Hopkins at one end and a student at the other. Education is man to man, mind to mind; it means discipline, distinction, a noble pride in a noble humility, a fundamental brain power — and a longing for the reverence toward *quality, value, and meaning*. The student must, in Nietzsche's great phrase, "hunger for knowledge as a lion for his prey" — and not, as today, play with knowledge as a pampered poodle with his kibbles. The Captains Courageous who find the Happy Isles are nourished on loneliness, reality, individualism, discipline, intellectual desire; they find the hero in the heart by living with great teachers and reverencing those teachers and also wind and wave and star. They base their wisdom upon the best that man has known and said and done, upon great books (but *not* "the Great Books"!), upon standards. They can compute their course because they never question that two plus two are four.

III

SPECIFICALLY where did education be-

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gin to go wrong?

It began to go wrong when official pedagogues, falling into the ancient sin of *hybris*, prided themselves on discarding the eternal realities and began to dabble in the temporal fancies. Teachers are conservationists. Their function is to conserve the heritage of man: the wisdom and beauty, the sanity and freedom, the quality, value, and meaning, that have been the accumulated capital of the ages and the good earth of man saved from depletion and erosion. Teachers are necessarily *conservatives* — for they beyond all others preserve the treasure of the best that man has known and said and done, from the Taj Mahal and the Parthenon to the Bible, from the verbal cathedrals of Dante to the architecture of the fugues of Bach. Their function is to know and share and love and communicate the garnered wisdom and mastery of man: the constant stars, the green oases, the deep rivers where the living trees are planted, the woods that are lovely, dark, and deep. The late Lord Dunsany, in his *Fifty-One Tales*, tells of a poet who sat by the side of a giant malignant poppy that would destroy the world by its juice of sleep and because its leaves forever whispered, "Remember not!" The poet sang his songs because they were bad for the poppy and because they helped men remember all that was great. He sang his songs to check the poppy that was the opium of the people, the poppy that drugged them from all remembrance of reality. And he said, as his final word, "We think we have saved Agamemnon." That is the function of the teacher: to save *Agamemnon*.

For the world is shallow, fickle, forgetful. It would forget quality, value, and meaning: the wisdom of tradition,

the substance of reality, the constant star and the changing and changeless seasons. It would discard the minds that abide: Plato, Aristotle, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Emerson, and the great anonymous authors of the Bible. The Hebrew prophets knew that the danger of Israel was to go "a-whoring after strange gods." The prophets were not innovators darting off at tangents to truth, chasing novel perversities, clutching at the latest firefly or the newest soap-bubble from pink Camay: they were *conservatives*, rebuking the heretics from two plus two are four, chastening the innovators of gadget and gimmick, and ever restoring man to the great *I Am* of God. The teacher, too, is the steadfast conservator of reality; the preserver of quality, value, and meaning; the servant of the eternal and changeless light. Only because light never changes can our vision change. Teachers are not here to fabricate "new ideas," but to reveal new things and renew old things by the light that is forever old and forever new because it is above time. Teachers are not researchers and innovators; theirs is the nobler function of knowing, loving, and renewing the best in the heritage of man. They deal in the light which is the oldest and newest thing, because it shone on the dawn of creation and will shine on the dawn of tomorrow.

Ironically, only as teachers are grounded in the eternal values can they recognize genius in their own day. Sidney Lanier said that the great enemy of genius is always contemporary *cleverness*, the brash, fashionable, smart-aleck cleverness of the brainy boys. These, having no sense of values founded on the eternal, ballyhoo the fashionable aberrations of the hour—the trivialities

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and perversions that the mediocrities of the moment go a-whoring after . . . not the new stars that swim into our ken to shine across the light-years.

But contemporary teachers too often pride themselves on being not conservers but destroyers. In my own (recent) college, a colleague in English (who is also in the department of *religion!*) got up in chapel to declare that great literature turns its back on Christ and its face on Prometheus. A teacher, he meant, should not seek to give the eternal light — but quarrel with Zeus and steal the “fire” from Heaven!

IV

EDUCATION went wrong when it equated itself not with conservation but with destruction. It began to go wrong when “progressive” pedagogues turned from the classical to the contemporary. It was, specifically, a calamity for education when the great classical disciplines of Latin and Greek were discarded so that education could begin its aimless play with the immediate and “contemporary.” In doing so, the pedagogues echoed that arch-collectivist, Adolf Hitler, “History began in 1933.” Is it any wonder that Johnny can’t read, can’t write, can’t spell, can’t rub two ideas together to produce even a Promethean spark? Johnny has had no training in a great, strict, inflected language; no acquaintance with derivations and the subtle nuances of words; no nourishment direct from the sources of Western culture.

Today a symptomatic tendency of schools and colleges is to make things easy by making them “modern.” So, for example, schools discard the King James Bible for the “modern” versions (or perversions) — not only because they are supposed to be more “accur-

ate,” but because they are “easier” for students and “closer to modern life.” An unfortunately forgotten philosopher of the 1920’s, Count Keyserling, wrote in *Creative Understanding*: “The culture of Making-all-things-easy must be opposed by the culture of Taking-things-all-the-more-seriously, similar to the counterpoint in music. Those only who take great pains will pass the *examen rigorosum* of this epoch of destruction and will count as cells of reconstruction.” How wise! But our pedagogues went a-whoring after strange gods; they discarded Latin and Greek, phonetics, grammar, drill in the multiplication table, classical disciplines and wisdom, classic depth, to worship “contemporary” trivia. They wanted Johnny to take a streamlined car at a hundred miles an hour down the freeway to the Tower of Babel. He would be more “interested” in courses on “How to be Happy on a Date,” or “Surfboard Riding,” or “How to Cure Acne.” He would be “closer” to Dewey than to Aristotle, to MacLeish than to the Book of Job, to Hemingway than to Homer. So begin (they said) with the “contemporary,” and introduce the classical, if at all, with condescension and apology. The “modern,” the “social,” the “relative,” the “practical,” (they said) are “real” to students. Education (they said) is not to preserve the great, but to dilute or dissolve it into the little. Education (they said) is not to find the truth that shall make you free, and then to hold it fast, but to have scholastic license to play round-the-mulberry bush with truth. Is it any wonder that Johnny staggers around in an intellectual tizzy?

And here lies the root of our trouble even in science. If Johnny can’t read or spell, if he can’t strike a spark from

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the flint and steel of opposite ideas, if he can't add, divide, or multiply, if he can't (because he doesn't know quality, value, and meaning) distinguish bathos from balance, how can we expect him to engage in the delicate computations of quantum physics? If he equates intelligence with the tossing of "opinions" around on the horns of "bull-sessions," how can we expect him to discriminate in the rigors of the laboratory? Our lack of classical studies has led to a bankruptcy of mind that leads to the bankruptcy of man.

V

THE IDEAL of contemporary conventional "education" has become the batting of a ball to and fro in a parlor game of pingpong. "Education" is supposed to be a game in which, to "see all sides," you merely bat the ball back and forth. But you do not really see both sides, or either side, if truth is just a pingpong ball bandied for the fun of it. If "to see all sides" you devote equal time to *Suddenly Last Summer* and to *King Lear*, or to William Carlos Williams and to Virgil, you do not really see either side as it is. To see Mao Tse-tung as a "gentle agrarian reformer" is not to see both sides — but to see only one side, and to see it falsely. To "discuss" whether a red light is not quite possibly a green light is to see neither — and quite possibly to see nothing any more in this world. In anything that is real, a part of "seeing both sides" is to discriminate between both sides. To make a mind you must *make up* your mind. To judge you must give a verdict. To grasp a sword or a spade or a pencil you must close your hand; to grip a principle or a value or a reality you must close your mind. To have an "open mind"

toward arsenic in the bread or Sartre in philosophy means to close your mind to intelligence. "Education" has reduced mind to bathos by insisting that we should dabble in an aimless play with the trivial, the false, the petty, the tenth-rate. A characteristic result is the Princeton student, utterly void of all sense of quality, value, and meaning, who told me that Princeton students invited Alger Hiss to address them because they believe in "hearing all sides." To be consistent, they should have invited Charles Van Doren to speak on academic genius in quiz shows!

To insist that "academic freedom" means to "see both sides" is to echo the silly cliché: "We don't know where we're going, but we're on our way." Or, as John Dewey phrased it in his inimitable sawdust English: "We agree that we are uncertain as to where we are going and where we want to go, and why we are doing what we do." With such refusal of quality, value, and meaning, contemporary "education" has been, at best, like an engineer who constructs a luxury liner (well named "The Tin Woodman") to be tied at the piers of Vanity Fair, or to sail without a rudder over the seas of Cloud-Cuckoo Land.

Is it any wonder, even aside from the propaganda for collectivism that creeps in, that such confusion of mind and paralysis of will insures our losing the cold war — and our Constitutional Republic? That one-third of our G.I.'s in Korea succumbed to the obvious lies and slick blandishments of their Communist captors? Is it any wonder that we are losing — the American mind?

VI

FOR WHAT HAPPENS when education abandons quality, value, and meaning?

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The result is (at the present best) good technical training without its necessary concomitant of wisdom. Our leaders talk as if all we need to do is to develop more "scientific minds." But consider. We may grant without quibble that Dr. Allan Nunn May, Dr. Pontecorvo, and Klaus Fuchs have "scientific ability." But did that make them masters of value? A scientific ability that chooses to place doom-by-atom in the hands of the Ant Men is neither scientific — nor able. An "education" that produces such "scientists" with no concern for the quality, value, and meaning of life, knows nothing of real science and is not education. Is delivery of the destruction of the planet to the men who dwell in darkness at noon, postpaid and wrapped in cellophane, a function of science — or of mind? Will we really have advanced if we educate "scientists" like Dr. Allan Nunn May, Dr. Pontecorvo, or Klaus Fuchs? Or, on a different level of culpability, confused collectivist "Liberals" like Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer?

Such is our plight today. We have been miseducated by those who, in the name of "education," have destroyed education; who, in the name of "academic freedom" have insisted on an academic license to make truth a parlor game of pingpong; who, in the name of "intellect," have groped aimlessly to and fro like blinder moles, saying: "We agree that we are uncertain as to where we are going and where we want to go, and why we are doing what we do." Only as we free ourselves of "education" shall we find education.

VII

WHAT then, may we do to save education — and America — and mind and man?

The beginning may well be a return to Christian realism, which means spiritual aristocracy. "Many are called . . . few are chosen . . . Narrow is the way and strait the gate . . ." The idea that we can educate everybody by turning them loose for a supercharged picnic on a luxury liner, and by building ever bigger and ever better liners, is nonsense — not even (as the charming ladies say in *Patience*) "such precious nonsense!" Conventional public education in America today is mostly pernicious nonsense that induces intellectual disintegration. *Keep your child out of the luxury liner!* At whatever sacrifice, send him or her to a parochial school (even if you are not a Catholic) or a rigorous private school. Neither the parochial school nor the rigorous private school is always safe, for the virus of "liberalism" is endemic in the world today, penetrating everywhere with its infection. But, in general, the farther you get from secular conventional public "education" today, the more education you get.

And always know that the great hope for sanity and freedom must lie, as always, in the home: in a family that is vitally conservative, where great music is played and loved, where great pictures hang upon the walls, where great books (especially Shakespeare and Dickens and the King James Bible) are read, where the members of the family think clear thoughts and speak fine English. Also we must criticize the pedagogues when they choose false texts, when they give foul tests in "mental health," when they refuse to grade, when they invoke academic license to give not bread but a stone. This does *not* mean to criticize the many fine individual teachers who struggle for sanity and freedom against

Luxury Liner On A Cruise To Nowhere

the entrenched bureaucracy of the official pedagogues, but the teachers' lobbies, the pedagogical pressure groups, the conformities of the NEA. Above all we should step out of the mass delusion that secular "education" educates, or disciplines the mind, or makes men intellectual. See and say that conventional "education" in America is today a caricature of education; that "education" today is often the enemy of education.

What we need today is heretics and

rebels against the "Liberal" Establishment. We need those who will pledge their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, to sanity and freedom, which have been lost in the mazes of "Liberal" illusion and conformity. Then, and only then, shall we have once more creative and adventurous generations who, in Joseph Conrad's great phrase, are like "a freeman, a proud swimmer, striking out for a new destiny."

LOST

By the American People. Their Common Sense. Just when and how it disappeared is not known. Appears to have been removed, piecemeal and deliberately, by shrewd operators of the NEA, ADA, CIO, and other clever gangs of marauders, wearing the disguises of newdealers, fair-dealers, newfrontiersmen, oneworlders, and various panacean sects. Since these imposters have no possible use for common sense, it is obvious that destructiveness and not robbery has been their motivation. But for whatever part, of the original store of common sense possessed by the American people, can now be recovered and that is not damaged beyond all repair, a sizable reward in gratitude and honor will be paid by future generations.

Do not submit your findings to Washington, where common sense is neither recognized nor considered desirable. Simply take whatever fragments you can discover, refurbish and oil them to the best of your ability, and put them to work at once on every problem of community, state, and national life. You will be surprised at how effective even a little bit of common sense will be in clearing up the confusion which surrounds you.

BULLETS

Good cannot clasp the hand of evil, without becoming evil, and without inviting destruction by evil. You cannot offer friendship to tyrants and murderers without advancing the cause of tyranny and murder.

Joseph McCarthy

The more you move "leftwards" at home, the closer, of necessity, you move to Moscow.

William S. Schlamm

How can you win a Cold War with cold feet?

Quoted By Mrs. Lynch Maddox

Professionally, the hardest task I face each day is to distinguish between being tired and being lazy.

Oren Arnold

Be careful with your immigration laws. We Indians were careless with ours.

Chief Ben Wildhorse

New Frontier — out where the waste begins.

Tom Anderson

Private charity, which used to be a virtue, is now a government department.

Again, Tom Anderson

Quis custodiet ipsos Custodes? (Who watches the watchmen?)

Juvenal

Instead of giving Red China a seat in the United Nations, let's give the United Nations a seat in Red China.

Douglas Morse

The mill cannot grind with the water that is past.

Sarah Doudney

Learn from the mistakes of others. You can't live long enough to make them all yourself.

Unknown

Office Manager: "Miss Jones, how do you do it? You've been here two weeks and you're already a month behind."

Supervision

A man is a fool to put anything in writing if he knows how to talk, and he shouldn't talk if he's able to nod or shake his head.

Martin Lomasney

If this play lasts overnight it should be considered a revival.

Alexander Woollcott

Knowledge is something which men and women are able to resist if they will.

Elton Trueblood

The beatnik is rapidly going the way of the American buffalo, to whom he bears a strong resemblance.

Burton Hillis

We prefer no existence to coexistence.

Dr. George Dumsta

Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hands of God.

George Washington

EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from Zurich, October 27, 1961

I WAS RECENTLY asked by a friend who is in the neckbreaking business of American politics to answer the main question of the current world crisis: How should the United States Government act? "You have been telling me for a long time now," wrote my friend, "what Kennedy should *not* have done. Will you kindly tell me what he *should* do?"

I immediately complied with my friend's request. Not that I consider myself wiser, or better informed, than the President's official advisers. But it has always seemed to me the irreducible moral obligation of a critic never to criticize unless he had first tried to put himself into the position of the performer. For the only responsible critic is he who has also notions of acting, himself, correctly. And as I have been reporting, month after month, in this *European Survey*, on declining American strength and prestige in Europe, I deem it only appropriate to present to my readers the substance of the advice my friend in Washington had requested.

Here it is.

* * *

A Letter To A Friend . . .

America has neither a stake in, nor even conversational subjects for, any forthcoming negotiations with the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it remains the great and completely mastered art of Bolshevik propaganda,

first, to make the western world anxious for negotiations which are merely in the interest of the Soviet Union; and then, to let the western world even pay for being allowed to "negotiate" its own defeat. Once the President recognizes this scheme, his correct action follows: He will have to make clear, beyond any doubt and obfuscation, that the American Government has not the slightest intention to "negotiate" with the Soviet Union about West Berlin.

Such a statement is needed. It would cleanse the air. On the other hand, the President ought to state that he is ready and even eager to negotiate with the Soviets, immediately, about the only existing German question — namely, the fastest possible withdrawal of Soviet troops from German territory. The scandal of a military occupation a full sixteen years after cessation of hostilities is indeed insufferable; and it could have catastrophic consequences for the peace of the world. Thus, the Government of the United States would suggest the invocation of a conference of the four victorious powers of the last war (England, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union) whose only subject matter ought to be the restitution of German territory, now occupied by Soviet troops, to authorized organs of German self-determination. In other words, the Government of the United States demands that the Soviet Union at last do what the other three powers

have done years ago.

As to Berlin — there is just nothing to talk about. Unless, of course, the Soviet Union were anxious to negotiate the implementations of the Four-Power-Occupation Treaty of 1945 concerning East Berlin. The transfer of occupational rights of the Soviets to German civilians, as it has been executed in East Berlin on August 13, was indeed a spectacular violation of binding commitments which the Soviet Union had incurred in 1945 vis-à-vis England, France and the United States. These commitments are so unequivocal that there is nothing to negotiate. Rather, the United States Government, in co-operation with England and France, will in due course take the steps necessary to enforce the Occupation Statute of 1945 in *all* Berlin. However, if the Soviet Union were anxious to talk things over, the President would be willing.

Finally the United States Government should declare publicly, and fast, that it is willing to enter negotiations with the Soviet Union, whose subject matter would be how to obtain and secure free elections in Poland—those free democratic elections which were solemnly guaranteed to Poland by the victorious Allies in 1944. Also, that the Government of the United States is willing and anxious to discuss with the Soviet Government ways and means of enforcing the United Nations Resolution which forbade any Soviet intervention in Hungary.

On What The United States Should Do . . .

To summarize: The only conversational subjects which the United States Government can perceive, and would be willing to discuss with the Soviet

Union, are, in Europe, the withdrawal of the last occupation forces from German territory; the enforcement of solemnly guaranteed free elections in Poland; the enforcement of Hungary's freedom as solemnly guaranteed by the United Nations. And only after these three problems have been solved to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, and to the satisfaction of the United States, would the American Government be prepared to open other conversations.

Having so dispelled the stupid and dangerous rumors of "forthcoming Berlin negotiations," and having reduced such talks to their only realistic and justified proportions, the United States Government would, secondly, make utterly clear that it will respond to any unilateral action of the Soviet Union *with all American power*. Certainly, whatever the Soviet Union wishes to talk about publicly will be seriously considered by the United States. But should the Soviet Union *act*, in Berlin or elsewhere, the United States and NATO will act with twice as much determination and twice as much power.

To make this credible the United States Government would immediately double its military engagements in West Berlin and all Germany—to nine full and battle-ready United States divisions. And the President should pledge his word that America's NATO allies, in due course, will do the same.

With Regard To Germany . . .

Furthermore, the United States Government would without delay submit a Peace Treaty which it is ready to discuss and to co-sign with the Government of the *Bundesrepublik*. In this draft treaty, the Bonn Government

AMERICAN OPINION

"ONE DOZEN CANDLES"

"It is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness."

REPRINT SERIES

Dear Reader:

You may be one of the millions of patriotic Americans who do not think that the Communist Conspiracy has reached so far or become so dangerous as some of us believe. And you may have become tired of the efforts of friends of yours, whom you consider "alarmists," to ram down your throat all kinds of books, pamphlets, and printed speeches on the subject. Any such attitude is certainly understandable.

Most of us, at one time, felt exactly as you do now. It was only with great reluctance, and usually after much serious study, that we ourselves reached conclusions which now frighten us — and perhaps annoy you. So please consider at least the possibility that *we could be right*. And please consider further that it is your duty to find out; a very solemn duty to your country, your family, and yourself.

If and when the United States, as the last bastion of freedom, is taken over by the Communists, the terror they will use to enforce, consolidate, and maintain their rule will be both more cruel and more extensive than anything the human race has ever before known or imagined. And our children who survive will one day certainly ask: "What did my parents do to prevent this slavery for America, which they had already seen imposed on so much of their whole world?"

So we are proposing here a simple and most effective way for you to perform a duty which you cannot escape. We have assembled, in one package, inexpensive reprints of twelve different books, each of which tells some part of the true history of the past thirty years. Together they offer an education — compact and sketchy, but still adequate — in the methods, progress, and menace of the Communist advance. We suggest that you read all twelve of these reprints, preferably in the order indicated by our listing. There is no easier way to satisfy yourself in all honesty as to where truth leaves off, and alarmism begins, with regard to the future as a projection of the past.

Do not take our word, nor that of anybody else, as to the dependability of these books or the qualifications of their authors. You be the sole judge, from the contents of the books themselves. And there is one promise we can make you with assurance: If and when you can say "I have honestly and carefully read ONE DOZEN CANDLES all the way through, and I still am not convinced," then even your most rabid anti-Communist friends will stop bothering you with literature or argument about their obsession. But we can also warn you with assurance: Long before you have finished reading these twelve reprints, you probably will be jumping up and down in amazement and alarm, exactly like the rest of us. For you will have learned the truth. And you will not again know any real peace of mind until that truth, by helping you and millions of others to destroy the Communist conspiracy, will again have set you free.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

Robert Welch, Series Editor
On Behalf Of Your "Alarmist" Friends

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Willoughby: <i>Shanghai Conspiracy</i>	Fox: <i>The Pentagon Case</i>
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We owe to the great work of Father James Keller and
The Christophers the present wide recognition and
understanding of the old Chinese proverb:

"It is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness."

European Survey

would be explicitly recognized as the only German government that has all legitimate claims to all German territory, including the region still occupied by Soviet forces. Thus, the United States Government would solemnly inform the Government of the Soviet Union: Though it has no way of preventing the Soviet Government from signing a "Peace Treaty" with its own employees in the Ulbricht regime, the United States Government would respond to such a provocation with a binding recognition of Bonn's claims to Ulbricht's territory. And the United States Government would warn the Soviet Union against the inherent consequences of such a development.

Thirdly, the United States Government should state publicly that the United States, England and France — and *not* the Bonn Government — are solely responsible for the defense of the rights and the freedoms of West Berlin. Thus, the Bonn Government would be visibly released from doing a job it is not even allowed to undertake. And it is urgently required that the United States Government publicly acknowledge its own responsibility, and repudiate a fictitious responsibility of the Bonn Government. For dangerous political forces inside Germany are already trying to cash in on an embarrassment that, actually, is not on Adenauer's doorstep but on that of Kennedy.

But, fourthly, the United States Government should unmistakably declare that in all other respects the Bonn Government retains its unmitigated sovereign right to determine German foreign policy within its valid contractual commitments (such as the NATO Treaty). For it is downright intolerable that German public opinion be any longer outraged by the lie that the

United States is "forbidding" Bonn this or that policy. Two days after Ulbricht's East Berlin *putsch* of August '13, a leading German newspaper published the "news" that President Kennedy had "threatened sanctions" in the case of any independent German response to Ulbricht. This "news" was a lie — but it was never denied. And it is being believed in Germany — just as German public opinion will believe *anything* that "forbids" a courageous German policy. For infiltrated "public opinion" in Germany is not interested in such a policy. But the United States Government is, or should be. It desires, or should desire, a strong and independent and self-confident German policy.

And this is how I finished my letter to Washington: "I have no illusions about the effectiveness of my advice. But neither have I illusions about the events of this winter. If the United States Government does not get itself freed from that choking noose of "negotiations" with the Soviet Union, and if the German Government does not pull itself together to execute an independent and strong German foreign policy, the West will indeed decline."

* * *

But Actually, Washington Provides The Horns . . .

This, in substance, was my letter to an excellent American politician. And, on second thought, it does not even seem to me that, by presenting its contents in this department, I have unduly deviated from the character and the pace of the usual *European Survey*. For, in suggesting an American course of action, I was in fact reporting what keeps Europe breathlessly occupied: All of Europe is waiting, in a horrified trance, for America's next or, rather, *first* move.

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It has become fashionable in American journalism to blame, first, de Gaulle and, then, the Germans for the prevailing paralysis of the West: Hasn't the General put his clumsy foot down on any diplomatic efforts concerning Berlin? And have not the Germans criminally wasted six precious weeks, already, on fighting among themselves over their new Government?

True enough. Yes, the Germans are, since the elections of September 17, without an effective Government. And this, at a time of profound trouble, is well-nigh reckless negligence. But what made it possible? What made it, in fact, unavoidable?

Adenauer, in all truth, was this time not at all eager to resume governmental responsibilities. Kennedy's posture of "sophisticated immobilism" — in plain language, "be smart and do nothing!" — has erased all potentialities of an active German policy. For, whatever Adenauer might do, it would be interpreted (at least by America's anti-German metropolitan press) as typical Teutonic orneriness.

For Adenauer's Dilemma . . .

Suppose Adenauer played turncoat on his noble past and accepted openly the surreptitious American advice for "negotiations" with Ulbricht. In that case he would not only lose the last bit of popular support at home — you can also be sure that ADA's smart alecks in America would immediately blame him, and him alone, for the resulting western catastrophe. For, in truth, the ADA boys in the White House and the State Department are scheming for precisely this plot: that the German Government can be seduced to take the road to disaster — in order to release Kennedy from all responsibility

for the catastrophic results.

Suppose, on the other hand, Adenauer would openly counteract the secret appeasement strategy of the State Department. Suppose, for example, Adenauer would openly and unshakably refuse any dealings with the Soviets unless and until they fully restored the complete freedom of movement for the residents of East Berlin. (This, of course, is exactly what Adenauer *should* do — and without delay.) Can you imagine the hue and cry of the *New York Times*, of Walter Lippmann, of Adlai Stevenson, or Arthur Schlesinger—not to speak of Senators Humphrey, Fulbright, Mansfield — and not to speak of Ambassadors Kennan, Galbraith, *et al.*? For at least the "articulate" segment of the Administration is irrevocably sold on the idea of throwing Germany to the Russian wolves—just as these perverted eggheads, in response to the aggressiveness of Communist Cuba, insisted on breaking with the Dominican Republic. These boys, whatever happens, will, with Pavlovian reflexes, react "against fascism." And so they would let the roof come down on Adenauer if he dared an independent and active policy against Moscow.

This is the dilemma the Old Man faces at the very end of his life. His worries, it seems, have stifled his wisdom. He has been at last allowed to form the new German Government, but his will-power has been broken. Germany enters the last chapter of her tragedy in a mood of hopelessness.

* * *

And Falsely Blames Its Own Pro-Soviet Course . . .

For years now Americans are being "conditioned" to a suicidal foreign policy by one sermon above all: that America must map her course according

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to public opinion abroad. The right foreign policy, as preached by the State Department for decades, is not the one that suits American interests, but one that matches the fancies and prejudices of other nations.

Let us, for once, not quarrel with that philosophy. Rather, let us see what happened to it recently. Khrushchev, for reasons of his own, resumed nuclear tests on the grandest scale and exploded even the Fifty-Megaton Bomb (with more than 2,500 times the fall-out effect of the Hiroshima bomb). [*Or so he claimed!!* Editor] Whatever else it did, this explosion rocked the public opinion of all Europe. The Continent was shaking with anguish and distress. Anything, really *anything* undertaken against a Government as cruelly inconsiderate, as ruthless and cynical as Khrushchev's, would have been welcomed by the Europeans with an exuberant enthusiasm.

What did Washington do? Nothing.

On The Public Opinion In Europe...

Now there were millions of things it could have done. And they all would have added up, at least indirectly, to a true quarantine of the Soviet Union. From the cancellation of all "cultural exchange," to the break-off of diplomatic relations — clearly, at least from the point of view of European public opinion, the time had come to isolate and insulate the Soviet Government! Europe, in these terrible and jittery weeks after the insane explosion, was ready and prepared for anything. It was yearning for action. It was crying for American initiative. In these days of a confused horror, all of Europe would have accepted the toughest possible American policy — if it only had been a comprehensible response to the

Soviet cruelty. Yet the State Department, that always claims it has to follow European moods, kept immovably silent.

This, I suggest, American patriots should remember for future reference. Whenever the advocates of the Administration piously defend its policies with an alleged need "to keep attuned to European public opinion," American patriots ought to remind them of the State Department's enigmatic reluctance in October, 1961. Then the Soviet Union had proved vulnerable — and the Administration studiously looked the other way. European public opinion, it seems, matters in Washington only (then, however, decisively) when it can be used as a pretext for appeasing Communism.

* * *

While In The Middle East...

The rupture of Nasser's only impressive creation, the "United Arab Republic," through the victorious coup of Syria's separationists, has pushed Egypt's regime into panic. Since the American landing in Lebanon in 1958 (Eisenhower's one and only act of decisiveness) Nasser had more or less successfully tried to loosen Egypt's dependence on Soviet support. For these three years he undertook a cautious but, for all practical purposes, honest policy of neutrality. Now, under the impact of his Syrian debacle, this policy seems to collapse.

In the first place, the Nasser regime is desperately trying to keep face domestically. For nowhere is "prestige" so essential as in "underdeveloped" nations. They cherish no one as much as the powerful and the self-confident (and therefore, one by one, they turn against the West). Thus, having been compelled to take the destruction of his

"United Arab Republic" lying down, without even a gesture of the conquering hero, Nasser is now in a terrible hurry to bolster his domestic position with social adventures — such as a new and, so far, his wildest, outbreak of "nationalization" orders. The wretched Egyptians are to forget Nasser's loss of face (and power) in Damascus by noticing, stronger than ever, his powers at home.

Another "Socialist" Makes . . .

But, inherently, every step he takes in the direction of "socialization" not only weakens Egypt's economy, it also drives her eastwards. An inescapable automatism is here at work: The more you move "leftwards" at home, the closer, of necessity, you move to Moscow. And Nasser produces currently another impressive bit of evidence for that law of political gravity.

During the last few weeks the staff of the East-Bloc Embassies in Cairo have repeatedly multiplied. A conspicuous "revival" of Soviet trade is clearly noticeable in the ports of Alexandria and Port Said. Nasser's controlled press, until recently hysterically shrill when it came to discussing nuclear affairs, keeps practically silent about the Soviet's nuclear testing. In short, the West had better be prepared for a fast Egyptian rapprochement with the Soviet Union.

His Communist Ties More Visible . . .

For secondly, this rapprochement is exactly the kind of policy a man with Nasser's instincts for power would

have pursued even if *nothing* had happened in Syria. These lean and hungry African opportunists are the most reliable weather vanes in international politics: They notice and acknowledge the slightest changes in power relations. Maybe some of them cannot write — but they can certainly read in the faces of the world's protagonists. And what they could lately read in Kennedy's face is making them sell America short.

Nor will Nasser be the only one to do it. Even while the Syrian revolt was pushing Nasser into Khrushchev's arms, its managers themselves began to look in the same direction: The Syrian coup that, for a first moment, looked like a conservative undertaking, is increasingly being penetrated by Syrian graduates from Moscow's Lenin School; and the official leaders of Syria's underground Communist Party have triumphantly returned from exile. Aware of the winds blowing to the North and to the South, Lebanon, the country between Egypt and Syria, starts to glance eastwards.

True, when he unleashed those ruthless atomic tests, Khrushchev was for a moment in serious trouble with a furious world. But the United States kept mum; and missed that incomparable moment for a fast and vigorous attack of political warfare. The Soviets not only recovered — their international status increased. For every crisis Communism is allowed to survive makes it only stronger. This is the secret of the East's rise and of the West's decline.

WE PAUSE TO REMARK

In the article preceding these pages Mr. Schlamm presents, as usual, a superb analysis of further steps in the stampede of the West to destroy itself. And the fact that we disagree with him on some specific points of both premise and conclusion is not important. If we published in these pages only those paragraphs on which *any two* conservatives could agree, we could mail the whole magazine each month as a postscript on a postcard — to all seven subscribers that we would soon have left.

We Raise A Schlamm . . .

But editorial honesty with our readers still prompts us to mention a couple of places where we are running faster or slower than Mr. Schlamm. He accepts as true, for instance, all of the Soviet *Admissions* that they have been bad boys and exploded a Fifty-Megaton Bomb. While your editor does not believe the yarn any more than he believed that they had photographed the back side of the moon.

The Communist game in this whole connection seems to us very clear. As we keep shouting to anybody who will listen, the Communists are always willing to be hurt, even badly, in any episode of their strategy, for the sake of a greater gain. What they want above all else now is to convince the wide world that they really do have enormously destructive and frightening atomic bombs to use, whenever it suits their ruthless purposes. This is the most vital support needed for the whole propaganda drive of their "Sane Nuclear Policy" agents and dupes, for their "Disarmament" agitation, and for all of the other pounding at the peoples of the West to accept the cowardly surrender which is now being planned for

these peoples by so many of their governments. And what better way — or more typically Communist way — is there to do this, than to have the Communist-influenced press and diplomatic agencies of the "free world," as well as their minions in the "Neutralist" countries, shouting at the Kremlin gang in horrified anger and "courageous" condemnation for having exploded so huge a bomb. All of the thousands of headlines and millions of words, just about the "fall-out" from this bomb, help tremendously to plant the fear of atomic destruction ever more firmly and constantly in the consciousness of the still unconquered millions. Against that amount of progress in their plans you can be sure the Soviets do not mind being called uncivilized murderers. Everybody knows that's what they are anyway; and even having their very ruthlessness thus highlighted and emphasized has its advantages at this stage of their strategy. For all of this, they did not *need* a big bomb, nor to explode it if they had one. They needed merely to announce that they had done so, and let the *condemnations* convince everybody that it was true.

We have no idea whether the Soviets exploded anything. By this time, however, they certainly must have been able either to steal or to make something that would register at least an infinitesimal tremor on the seismograph machines. But when all the headlines and air waves start — and keep on — weeping crocodile tears over how big a bomb the Soviets have exploded, let's remember one unchallengeable historical fact. It is an accomplishment for which this magazine and this editor have already given the Soviets credit many times. The one single item of which they produce the biggest in the world —

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and which they distribute more rapidly and efficiently than anybody else in the world — is *Lies*. Nobody can possibly compete, in size or quantity or quality, with the Big Lies — 1961 Post-Stalin Model, Retooled — of the Soviets. In fact they and *their agents* have such a world-wide monopoly on the really Big Lie today that nobody else would even try to sell anything except their brand. We think that all of this big noise — which nobody heard —, and big smoke — which nobody saw —, and big stink which nobody smelled, is probably just the biggest lie which the Communists have turned out anywhere to date.

With Cards We Cannot Ignore . . .

And look, don't get mad. You don't have to agree with us. Nobody has to agree with us about anything. Not even on this next point, which has become so repetitious in AMERICAN OPINION by now that we shall belabor it here with only a passing below. We think any idea that Nasser ever undertook an "honest policy of neutrality," for three years or three minutes, is in the same category as the belief that our CIA is on the anti-Communist side. A delightful hope, but utterly unrealis-

tic. Nasser, in our opinion, was a chosen agent of the Kremlin back in the days when he was still a Lt. Colonel in the Egyptian army, trying to persuade his superior officers to betray their king. *And he has never been anything else*, no matter how cunningly he has used both clever acting and deceptive stage properties to disguise his role.

Nor can we agree with Mr. Schlamm's opinion, at least by implication, that in the Lebanon affair, President Eisenhower acting with decisiveness *on the anti-Communist side*. For whatever may have been Mr. Eisenhower's intention, the net result of the invasion of Lebanon by U. S. Marines and Robert Murphy was to destroy our friends like Camille Chamoun, and to bring into power in Lebanon the recognized leading Communist of that country, Rashid Karami. And the anti-Communists of Lebanon found, as have the anti-Communists of Indonesia, of South Korea, of South Vietnam, of West Germany (as Mr. Schlamm does so well recognize), and of so many other parts of the world, that the most smothering force against them consisted of the power and pressures of the United States Government.

BULLETS

A quarter is a dollar with all the taxes taken out.

Anonymous

* * *

This country was founded by the bold and cannot be maintained by the timid.

Emerson

* * *

Today we Americans must either stand up and be counted in, or lie down and be counted out. I have made my choice.

Howard Jarvis

INTELLIGENCE IN INTELLIGENCE

by

REVILO P. OLIVER

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, if they are to survive as human beings, must resolve within the next twelve months six vital and desperately urgent problems. The most immediate and urgent of all is that presented by the incredibly brazen attempt to demoralize and paralyze our military forces by penalizing our officers for loyalty to the United States. Among our other problems, and but little less urgent than those presented by Cuba, the "United Nations," the State Department, and current preparations in Washington for further surrender to the Soviet in Latin America and Europe, is the need to provide the United States with a military intelligence service, either by drastic reorganization of the Central Intelligence Agency or, if that is found to be too thoroughly rotted to be salvaged, the creation of a new agency that will serve American interests.

The Pentagon and the C.I.A. present radically different problems. The former is properly and necessarily the subject of public inquiry, and there is hope that the Senatorial committee now appointed, if not frustrated by the enormous political pressures that are being exerted by the Communist Conspiracy and its tools, will proceed promptly and rigorously to expose and remove the nest of traitors that has obviously multiplied since it was protected from exposure by the political assassination of Senator McCarthy. It is, of course, already clear that some witnesses from the Pentagon will try to elude inquiry by convenient loss of memory or by a preposterous

pretense that pertinent documents are "classified" and must therefore be kept secret from the highest agency of the American people, the Senate of the United States. That should present no problem. The District of Columbia maintains a building in which forgetful or recalcitrant witnesses, whether or not they are of cabinet rank, may be assured ample leisure for recollection and meditation—mental processes which may be stimulated by the contemplation of barred windows.

In contrast, an inquiry into the C.I.A. must necessarily be almost entirely secret. That agency has managed to capture most of the intelligence operations of the United States, and the effectiveness of such operations depends in large part on the maintenance of secrecy concerning the methods which are, or should be, employed. And—paradoxical as it may seem at first sight—it would be imperative that this secrecy be maintained even if we knew in advance that all our methods, down to the last detail, had been completely betrayed to the Soviet.

This is not to say that public inquiry into certain limited aspects of intelligence work is not both justified and highly desirable. For example, we may hope that the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security will identify and interrogate the now faceless and nameless individual whom former Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith in his testimony before that subcommittee identified only as "the No. 2 C.I.A. man in the [American] embassy [in Havana]."

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The bizarre individual, when caught in an attempt to incite or encourage mutiny in the Cuban navy for the benefit of Fidel Castro and the Communist Conspiracy, explained to Ambassador Smith that he, as an experienced military intelligence agent, had not been able to tell the difference between naval officers and dentists, inasmuch as both wear white coats in the tropics, and that he thus had not known that the conspirators to whom he promised the approval and support of the United States of America were actually in the naval service of the legitimate government of Cuba that they were planning to overthrow. Obviously, "No. 2," if not a Communist agent, is a half-wit who must be removed from our intelligence service before he finds himself unable to tell the difference between an American and a Russian, inasmuch as both have arms and legs.

Public inquiry into the careers and records of executive officers of the C.I.A. is also in order and even needed. If the deep suspicions that that agency's performance has aroused in the minds of all observant Americans should be unfounded, such an inquiry would give a measure of reassurance, and, in any case, one never knows what interesting data would come to light. Of that we had a recent example. Almost the only intelligence organization that the C.I.A. has not succeeded in absorbing is the National Security Agency, a highly specialized undertaking in which absolute secrecy is even more important than in the C.I.A. itself. It will be recalled that last year, when two perverts and traitors in the National Security Agency (Mitchell, trained at Stanford and the California Institute of Technology, and Martin, trained at the Washington College of Education and the

University of Illinois) went to Moscow to enjoy "cultural life" in Khrushchev's "great democracy," inquiry almost accidentally revealed that the man *in charge of employment* in that agency was a person of mixed Russian origin who had falsified his own record, misrepresenting his parentage, academic career, and other details, and neglecting to mention that he had at times changed his name. All these "mistakes," he said, were the result of mere forgetfulness. That, perhaps, is possible, but his strategic position in the National Security Agency differs in important ways from a position as soda-jerk in a corner drug store. In an organization whose operations are absolutely vital to the continued existence of the United States, the rule must be to take *no* chances. After all, a man whose memory is so labile that he forgets that he did *not* spend several years in a law school may possibly at some time also forget for whom he is *not* working.

There is, therefore, ample scope for congressional investigation of our intelligence agencies—investigation to which no loyal American could conceivably object. But such inquiry should be supplemented by a most thorough and quite relentless examination of the secret operations of those agencies, and that examination must be made in complete secrecy by a small group of military and naval officers of indubitable loyalty and equally indubitable awareness of our national peril. And clearly, to command maximum confidence, such a board should be headed by either General Douglas MacArthur or General Edwin A. Walker.

II

IN THE MEANTIME, American citizens should inform themselves concerning

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the general scope and nature of intelligence work, and learn to think clearly about it. This makes especially timely the publication of William M. McGovern's *STRATEGIC INTELLIGENCE AND THE SHAPE OF TOMORROW* (Regnery, Chicago; 193 pages, \$4.00). The author, who is Professor of Political Science in Northwestern University and distinguished in an academic field in which integrity and patriotism are now *conspicuous* virtues, was a member of the Joint Intelligence Committee of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Second World War and has in various ways maintained contact with intelligence work since that time. In March, 1948, for example, he prepared for the Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs a report in which he accurately predicted the Communist invasion of South Korea—for which invasion our State Department made certain that we would be completely unprepared when it came two years later.

Professor McGovern distinguishes sharply between tactical and strategic intelligence. The former is relevant to operations in the field and is a highly perishable commodity. We learn, for example, that the enemy has withdrawn certain regiments from its line or that a certain ship is being repaired in a certain harbor. Such information is useful only if it arrives in time to enable us to attack the weak spot in the enemy's line or to send bombers to destroy the immobilized ship. Strategic intelligence, on the other hand, is that knowledge of the enemy's total resources, organization, and weaknesses that is necessary to plan the whole war, both military and psychological, and to procure his defeat as expeditiously and economically as possible.

Strategic intelligence, as Professor

McGovern points out, must be based on an accurate, sagacious, and objective analysis of the whole structure and composition of each nation to ascertain the real and potential points of weakness, material and moral, at which it is most vulnerable to attack. Obviously, this calls for unremitting work at all times, and the knowledge must be ready before actual hostilities begin. It is also clear that the scope of American intelligence must be the whole world. In addition to the Soviet countries (many of which we are financing with "foreign aid") with which we are *now* actually at war, although shooting has not yet begun, American intelligence must concern itself with our few remaining allies (to what extent and in what circumstances will they be reliable?) and with the very few countries that are really neutral (how vulnerable are they to a Communist invasion or *coup d'état*, and what can be done to prevent or counter Communist occupation?).

Now a large part of strategic intelligence—Professor McGovern estimates eighty percent—is obtained from sources that are available to anyone in the Library of Congress or other really good reference libraries. This does not mean that the other twenty percent, obtained by secret means from secret sources, is not vital: it is, and one should remember that a military intelligence summary, like an automobile, is likely to be of little use if only eighty percent of the necessary parts are in it. But the estimate does serve to place in perspective the real nature of intelligence work. Its basis is labor which is, in the fullest sense of the word, scholarly. It calls for the careful and thorough collection of facts, the critically discerning comparison and analysis of facts that makes the

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rare quality called common sense indispensable to true scholarship, and an eye for *significant* detail that often seems to be an instinctive sense rather than a faculty that can be acquired by education.

The foundation of all strategic intelligence must be thorough study—dispassionate and objective study—of each nation. This obviously includes its political structure, which normally offers many points of vulnerability, and its economy, since modern warfare depends on access to natural resources and the ability to use them. It also includes analysis of the religious and racial structure, for—although the fact will make our pip-squeak “Liberals” yelp when they hear of it—it is axiomatic in intelligence work that wherever ten percent or more of a population is composed of a visibly distinct ethnic group, there exist (no matter how emphatically or unanimously the people of the country may deny it publicly or even privately) tensions which inhibit to some extent the country's action and which are likely to be the most vulnerable point of attack in psychological warfare. Strategic intelligence will also include history (for although nations change, they do so slowly and usually according to recognizable patterns), literature, and philosophy. And although it is important to ascertain the mentality of the general populace (which must not be confused with what the clique that runs a country's newspapers say that it is), the mentality of intellectually significant élites is equally important. For our intelligence service is essentially engaged in trying to outwit the other country's intelligence service, and that service is likely to include some of what are, or are considered to be, the best minds in

that country. So an accurate analysis of their essential concepts and modalities of thought may give us a very great advantage.

Professor McGovern has written a lucid and synoptic description of basic strategic intelligence, with illustrations of its effectiveness in the recent past, indication of present problems, and finally a general intelligence estimate of the immediate future. His book may be emphatically commended to the attention of every reader, both for its general view of intelligence operations and its clear statement of the present situation—or, more exactly, the situation a few months ago when the manuscript was sent to the printer. I need not add that Professor McGovern, like every intelligent American observer, scarcely takes the trouble even to mention the asinine notion—asinine, that is, except in the agents of the International Communist Conspiracy, who use it as a powerful weapon in psychological warfare—that some sort of disarmament, peace, coexistence, or truce is possible for the United States. The American people are engaged in a war to the death which can end only in decisive victory or annihilation. To waste time in refuting talk about “peaceful settlement,” “disarmament,” and the like would be intellectually as absurd as a solemn discussion of ways to provide proper fodder for Santa Claus' reindeer next Christmas. Kiddies who prattle about such things may be cute, but, whatever their age or academic record, they should be sent back to the nursery before the adults begin discussion of serious matters.

III

IT IS MY IMPRESSION that Professor McGovern, perhaps in reaction against

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the popular notion that intelligence operations depend primarily on mammoth Mata-Haris and monocled barons who perpetually say "hein" while contriving to steal "the papers," underestimates by implication the importance of information obtained by espionage. It is true that much of the information thus obtained, especially in time of war, is apt to be of tactical, rather than strategic, importance; but there are times when the results of espionage can be decisive. Most Americans, even if they have not read General Willoughby's book on the subject, have heard something of the very effective work of the Communist agent, Sorge, and his gang in Japan during the recent war; but, in spite of many published articles, they seem to overlook a far more sensational series of operations. The fact that Germany had to fight the war against enormous odds has obscured one of the principal causes of her defeat—the failure of her intelligence system, especially in counter-intelligence.

Sorge himself is an illustration of this failure. He was a long-time member of the Communist Conspiracy, had undergone five years of intensive training under Dimitri Manuilsky, and had served as a Soviet spy in many parts of the world (including the United States). But he was nevertheless able to impose on such naive persons as Dr. Josef Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, who regarded him as a friend, attended a dinner in his honor, and approved his appointment as chief correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in the Far East; the German Ambassadors to Japan, who accepted him as a leading National Socialist with connections close to Hitler himself; and the chiefs of German intelligence in Japan, who seem never to have thought

of checking his record or observing his movements. But Sorge's exploits in Japan were mere trifles in comparison with what was happening in Germany itself. The clearest example is also the most dramatic and best known.

A British citizen, Alexander Foote (who, according to his confession, was never a member of any Communist Party), was recruited by the International Conspiracy as an agent at the time of the attempted Communist takeover of Spain in 1936. In 1938 he was stationed in Switzerland and soon given the task of maintaining radio communication with Moscow. Beginning in 1939, he transmitted, together with other espionage reports, information delivered to him (through an elaborate series of cut-outs, of course) by Rudolf Rössler, a German who posed as a "Liberal Catholic" and was head of a semi-Catholic publishing house called Vita Nova. Rössler's information came from the highest authorities in Germany, and his sources must have included one, and probably two, members of Hitler's inmost circle of most trusted advisers. The main sources must have been Germans whom Hitler regarded as above suspicion even after the attempt to assassinate him in July, 1944, led him to suspect almost everyone. For the flow of information was not interrupted by that event. It is probable that one of these sources was Admiral Canaris, who was the *chief* of the German intelligence service, is known to have been a traitor, and was probably a triple-agent, primarily in the service of Russia rather than of France. But the sources must have included at least one other person very close to the German High Command.

Foote was thus able to supply the Kremlin with advance notice of the

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German invasion of Russia, and to send daily, or even twice daily, reports giving the strength, location, and movements of all German armed forces, the over-all strategic plans of the German High Command, and summaries of the operations and reports of German Intelligence, including its conclusions concerning Russian forces, positions, and plans. In other words, the German Reich, thanks to two or three highly placed traitors, was simply playing blind man's buff with the Soviet. What Germany accomplished with *that* handicap is one of the most remarkable feats of military history, and it could plausibly be argued that without Admiral Canaris, Germany would have been able to break all Russian resistance long before Franklin Roosevelt was able to arrange for the destruction of the American fleet in Pearl Harbor. At all events, the episode is a most emphatic lesson for Americans today.

IV

SINCE PROFESSOR MCGOVERN, doubtless to avoid criticism of our present government, does not discuss the question, we must notice the all-important subject of the recruiting of members of intelligence services. It may be remembered that in 1952 General Walter Bedell Smith, who was then in command of our Central Intelligence Agency, calmly told a Congressional committee that he was quite sure that there were Communist agents in his organization and in "practically every security agency" of the United States, and that he did not know how to identify them. That statement, which would have shocked to horror and indignation a nation that had not lost the instinct of self-preservation, was scarcely noticed by a people evidently deter-

mined to shuffle to their doom in a somnambulistic trance. That was one of the times at which even the stoutest hearts were tempted to despair of America and to repeat Joshua Barnes' bitter and impious aphorism, *quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*.

To begin with, a sane nation would have looked at Walter Bedell Smith—and screamed. It was mildly disturbing that an uneducated adventurer without serious military training should hold a commission of field grade or above in the United States Army (Smith barely completed high school, and reports in the press that he was "a West-Point man" made regular army officers turn purple). It was alarming that he should have retained his commission after having been guilty of what was, on the most optimistic interpretation of the most favorable suggestion in the official report of an Army board of inquiry, the most disastrous stupidity or dereliction of duty ever charged to a secretarial officer in the history of our armed forces. It was frightening that a man with such a record and with no experience of responsible command should have zoomed aloft to the rank of four-star general, in a series of promotions obviously related to the fact that he was in a position to testify concerning the extent of General Marshall's complicity in contriving the death of the American soldiers and sailors who were sacrificed at Pearl Harbor to provide a pretext for the war that saved the Soviet.

It was terrifying that this man, after the war, and after his patron, General Marshall, had arranged for the Communist conquest of China, and after he himself had held the post of Ambassador to Russia and used it to hide out from Congressional investigation,

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should have been permitted to hold a position of high responsibility while under a cloud of grave suspicion that would have been intolerable to a man of honor—a cloud that he permitted to hang over him until he died last August with his conduct and the sources of his mysterious wealth still unexplained. But English has no word adequate to describe the fact that this man, who as Ambassador to Russia had been a vigorous champion of “co-operation” with the “peace-loving” Soviet, was then placed at the head of our secret intelligence service and thus given a position corresponding exactly to the one that Admiral Canaris had held in Germany.

Whatever the explanation of General Smith's incredible career, however, he was not just laughing up his sleeve at Congress when he confessed that he was sure there were Communist agents in his Central Intelligence Agency. As Mr. James Burnham says in *The Web of Subversion*, the General would have been “naïve and derelict to have thought otherwise.” It is a simple fact that, given the standards used in recruiting the members of American intelligence services, the presence of a large number of enemy agents is practically a mathematical certainty, and that the director of such an agency, however patriotic, devoted, and vigilant he might be, would find it virtually impossible to eliminate them under existing standards. This is a point to which every American who wishes to live out his natural life should give very serious attention.

It is true, of course, that intelligence services have to use agents of all kinds. There are a few cosmopolitan drifters who may properly be called international spies, since they seem to be pro-

fessionals willing to work for anyone who pays them. And, of course, it is standard procedure to suborn the nationals of a country to serve as spies against it—and, incidentally, it is disillusioning to know how small are the sums of money that usually suffice to purchase treason. But no one trusts such agents. You use them for whatever they may be worth, and try to prevent them from learning anything they could sell in another market. There is also the special problem of contact with anti-Communist underground organizations abroad, but this has become largely theoretical, for so many members of such organizations have been taken by the Soviet soon after their identities were known to American intelligence that, according to all reports from various sources, contact with Americans is now almost universally avoided. We are here discussing only the American staffs of intelligence agencies.

The first and most obvious precaution is careful investigation of the antecedents of everyone who is to be given what may amount to the power of life and death over thousands—conceivably even millions—of Americans. Although it is theoretically possible for the Communists, who usually enlist their agents in colleges and proceed to build careers for them, to plant a perfectly disguised spy in our intelligence services, there is, so far as I know, no instance of a traitor whose record, when investigated after the event, did not show clear grounds for suspicion. It is better, however, to watch the barn before the horse is stolen. Without attempting to judge in any way the member of the National Security Agency whom we mentioned above, we must observe that it is simply fantastic that any man should have been

Intelligence In Intelligence

allowed within the doors of that agency, much less allowed to select the persons who are to work in it, without verification of even such simple and obvious matters as his claim that he attended a given university at a given time. Let the man be as innocent as Saint Ursula, the very fact that he was admitted to the organization is proof of criminal negligence in some quarter in which no nation can tolerate such negligence and live.

V

BUT THE PROBLEM is deeper than that. Even when a security check has been made thoroughly and reported accurately, Americans are handicapped by the romantic notion that people have some vague right to employment in our essential services, and should not be excluded without proof of some specific act of disloyalty. We shall be helpless until we realize and admit that *any* grounds for suspicion of a person's loyalty or suitability should be adequate to exclude him (or her).

An intelligence service is a highly complex organization and requires a great variety of talents, but there is one thing that *all* the people admitted to its inner workings, whether they are analysts who handle data in the central office or operatives who go to risk their lives abroad, must have in common. And that is clear understanding and whole-hearted acceptance of the fundamental *military* principle enunciated by Captain Stephen Decatur: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but *our country, right or wrong.*" That is the basic code of a soldier's loyalty, and it must be implicitly accepted in every intelligence service. And that rule flatly excludes everyone who thinks in terms of a "higher duty to mankind,"

"world peace," "international understanding," "social justice," and similar figments of the imagination. It also excludes everyone who is charmed by a foreign personality or doctrine, or feels a strong partiality for any foreign country (whether or not it is an ally at the moment).

Such people may mean well, and no one questions their right to decorate china, write verses, or preen themselves before ladies' clubs, but there is simply no room for them in an intelligence service. Their loyalty is apt to be vulnerable (often in ways of which they are not themselves aware), but in any case they do not have the kind of mentality that is requisite for intelligence work. Whatever talents they may possess, they are obstacles to the proper functioning of such an organization.

During the Second World War, all of our intelligence agencies, having been virtually extinguished during the preceding period of peace through the influence of pacifists and other eccentrics, had to expand their staffs very rapidly. All of them, therefore, were more or less afflicted with considerable numbers of people, some in fairly responsible positions, whose minds were affected by the pseudo-idealistic hogwash with which the newspapers daily deluged the public. These persons were subject to fits in which they imagined that their function was not to help win a war for the United States, but to save the world. They often clogged the internal channels of intelligence, and sometimes gave their superiors many a sleepless night.

There was, for example, the analyst who perverted and even fabricated economic statistics in the hope of inducing the United States to attack Spain—because the United States had a "mis-

Intelligence In Intelligence

sion" to "stamp out Fascism." There was the former missionary who, probably after deceiving himself, prepared grossly misleading reports on Japan — for the purpose of promoting "world brotherhood" after the war. And a very serious breach of security in one agency was barely averted after three members of the staff (including a Doctor of Philosophy), hopped up with drivel about "United Nations," decided that it was their duty to warn one of Europe's then publicized "great democrats" (who, by the way, was surrounded with Communists and probably a Communist himself) that the nasty American militarists were keeping their eye on even his angelic form. One could multiply examples, but the three that we have given may suffice to show why, entirely apart from all questions of intentional co-operation with the enemy, persons addicted to internationalism and other mental narcotics are *always* a liability in intelligence work. Even if they do not get in the way, their superiors can never tell when the fit may come upon them.

No one, it seems, has had the courage to admit this fact as the basis of policy in recruitment, and one result is that diligent security officers, when they see disquieting items in an applicant's record, must decide whether the items indicate a propensity for treason or merely a craze for world-saving. And often there *is* no way to decide, for while everyone knows that Communists breed and flourish in such movements, the Communists are usually shrewd enough to make themselves indistinguishable from the innocents who really believe fairy tales about international do-gooding and the like. The risk is simply one that no conscientious security officer should be expected to take.

It is now known that during the Second World War some of our intelligence agencies were deeply infiltrated by traitors. The O. S. S. was, of course, notorious, and other services were wont to refer to it as the "Office of Soviet Stooges." And there are many dark depths yet undisclosed. Officers who served with the great General Patton are convinced that he, who had grimly promised to expose traitors after the war, was murdered by operatives of an American intelligence unit — and their belief is based on more than conjecture. Some agencies took very considerable precautions, and did their work well in spite of occasional pressures from the White House; but, given the circumstances, all were probably infiltrated to some extent. And it must be remembered that the infiltrators would have done their utmost to remain in intelligence work after the war and to introduce accomplices at every opportunity. That, in brief, is the situation that we face today.

General Smith, whatever inferences we may draw about his career, stated the facts in 1952 — which are also the facts in 1961, except that the situation is now far more acute. Given the policies of recruitment by which his organization had been formed, a director could be sure that there were numerous Soviet agents in it and yet despair of ever catching them in an overt act. The director had no power to purge the organization on the basis of suspicions not confirmed by positive evidence. (Most agencies follow the rule that no one should be discharged after being admitted to even a part of their secrets: he knows too much.) And even if the director had the power, any attempt to eliminate traitors would inevitably bring upon him reprisals from the

Intelligence In Intelligence

powerful interests that have recently had the audacity to proclaim publicly that patriotism will not be tolerated in our armed services.

The International Communist Conspiracy is cunning, but we should not overestimate it. Our intelligence agencies *need* not be penetrated, if the American people will otherwise. Although our enemies have ways that are exceedingly dark, I believe that any experienced military man, if offered the opportunity to form a new organization on the principle of taking *no* chances in recruitment, would be optimistic about the possibility of living it up to George Washington's rule, "Let only Americans stand guard tonight."

One further point remains to be noticed. Wherever people interested in intelligence work meet, the conversation is sure to turn, sooner or later, to the vexed question whether all the responsible officers in intelligence agencies should be civilians or should hold com-

missions in the armed services. The operational considerations involved are too numerous to be examined here, but there are, I believe, two points on which everyone would agree, viz.: (1) The function of an intelligence agency is to prepare for war; war is a military activity; the command, therefore, must be military. (2) The responsibilities of intelligence work are so great, and it so nearly and directly affects the survival of the nation, that the whole organization must be subject to the essentials of military discipline — particularly the death penalty for treason. And in intelligence work, as in the army and navy, the question whether our nation is officially at war or officially at peace is irrelevant — indeed, meaningless — when one has to deal with a case of treason.

The hour is desperately late, but it is not yet too late to handle the problems of our vital intelligence work intelligently.

We Pause To Remark

We sometimes think that science has already gone too far. A recent news item, for instance, announces a new hearing aid which by-passes the ear and reaches the brain through a rectifier crystal embedded in a tooth. It was bad enough when Eleanor Roosevelt could give so many people an earache and a pain in the neck. Now that she can give some of them a toothache as well, it is time for a recess in technological "progress."

* * *

With regard to Edward R. Murrow's new 31-minute film to save the world for democracy, entitled *The Challenge Of Ideas*, we have a suggestion. Such a sharp and powerful weapon for fighting our Communist enemies, as we know Edward R. Murrow is bound to have turned out, should of course be widely used. We urge the formation of a group for that purpose, to be known as "The Namby-Pamby Patriotic And Afternoon Tea Society," or "The Blue Ribbon Bully Boys For Reasoning With The Reds," or maybe something dignified, simple, and severe, such as "The T'sk T'sk Committee." And we recommend for Chairman of "The T'sk T'sk Committee" that two-fisted, hard-hitting anti-Communist, Adlai Stevenson. With some brilliant quip like "When we see a Red let's not see red," he will probably win the whole world wide struggle.

A REVIEW OF THE NEWS

*This is a magazine of opinion. But opinion should
be based on facts. Here are the facts for*

OCTOBER, 1961

Sunday, October 1

→ Southern Cameroons, a United Nations trusteeship, becomes independent and immediately joins the former French Cameroons to form the Cameroun Republic, which will be headed by President Amadou Ahidjo.

→ Adlai Stevenson, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, says he believes the Soviets may agree to suspend nuclear testing because of "their own self interest and the moral pressure of the world."

→ Generalissimo Francisco Franco of Spain, in an address to his military chiefs, hints that his nation will offer Spanish sites for the location of United States nuclear missiles.

→ Panamanian President Roberto Chiari says he wants negotiations with the United States for a new treaty covering the Panama Canal. Chiari says the \$1,930,000 paid to Panama annually by the United States is harmful to the interests of Panama's economy and Chiari intends to have the payments increased.

Monday, October 2

→ The House Committee on Un-American Activities begins hearings on a suspected Communist front, the National Assembly For Democratic Rights. The new front held a rally on September 23 and 24 in New York City where known Communists were the featured speakers.

→ Premier Mamoun Kuzbari of the new

Syrian revolutionary régime says his nation will follow a course of "neutrality" in foreign affairs.

→ In a nation-wide radio and television address, French President de Gaulle insists that he is determined to carry out his self-determination policy for Algeria.

→ Delegates from thirty-one nations convene in Washington at the Twelfth International Congress of the International Astronautical Federation, which is headed by Leonid I. Sedov of the Soviet Union. Nations represented at the meeting include Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, East Germany, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia. The Federation has as its announced purpose the promotion of a "world-wide exchange of technical information on the peaceful applications of the space sciences."

→ The President of the Transport Workers Union, Michael S. Quill, calls for "socialization" of all transportation in the United States. Mr. Quill also urges the formation of a third political party, the National Labor Party.

→ Communist China promises full support of Communist Cuba's "proper demand for the recovery" of the United States naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

Tuesday, October 3

→ India threatens to withdraw from the International Atomic Energy Agency if the Western nations insist on supporting their favorite candidate, Swedish scientist Sigvard Eklund, for the position of

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Director-General.

Wednesday, October 4

→ Ferik Ibrahim Abboud, President of Sudan, arrives on a state visit and is warmly greeted by President Kennedy at the Andrews Air Force Base.

→ Shen Chang-huan, Foreign Minister of Nationalist China, warns the United Nations General Assembly that, if Communist China is admitted to UN membership, an "era of collective aggression" will begin and the United Nations will be doomed. Delegates of the Soviet Union and its satellites leave the General Assembly's chamber during Shen's address.

→ The State Department refuses permission for a group of Soviet scientists to attend next week's meeting of the American Rocket Society in New York. The Soviets had previously withheld permission from American scientists who wanted to attend a similar meeting in the Soviet Union.

→ The United States pledges \$750,000 (seventy percent of the voluntary contributions) to the International Atomic Energy Agency. Glenn T. Seaborg, United States delegate to the agency, also pledges that the United States will match dollar for dollar any contributions in excess of \$1,000,000 until \$1,500,000 is reached.

→ President Kennedy appoints a commission to study whether the federal government should help to finance the campaign expenditures of candidates for national office.

Thursday, October 5

→ Iain MacLeod, British Colonial Secretary, says that legislation will be introduced in the British Parliament to grant

Jamaica its independence from the West Indies Federation as soon as possible.

→ Ferik Ibrahim Abboud, President of Sudan, who is in the second day of his state visit, requests more than \$40,000,000 in aid from the United States. Of the total, \$30,000,000 would be used to build a highway from Port Sudan to Khartoum.

→ New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller proposes the creation of a cabinet-level Department of Transportation.

→ Communist China and Nepal sign a treaty, fixing the five hundred-mile *Nepal-Tibet border* in the Himalayas.

Friday, October 6

→ President Kennedy says that his administration is preparing plans whereby individual home owners would be able to purchase "fallout" shelters at a price somewhere between \$100 and \$150.

→ West Berlin's Socialist Mayor, Willy Brandt, receives the Freedom House Award of 1961 "for sustaining liberty in the shadow of tyranny."

Saturday, October 7

→ President Kennedy and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, in a two-hour conference at the White House, discuss the Berlin situation and a peace treaty with Germany. Secretary of State Rusk, who was present, describes the meeting as "interesting."

→ The Soviet Union and Bulgaria extend diplomatic recognition to the Syrian revolutionary régime which broke away from the United Arab Republic in September.

→ President Kennedy's scientific adviser, Jerome Wiesner, arrives in New Delhi to discuss with Pakistani officials United States disarmament plans and prospects

A Review Of The News

for banning nuclear testing.

Sunday, October 8

→ West Berlin's Socialist Mayor, Willy Brandt, returns to Germany after a two-day visit to New York, during which he talked to President Kennedy on the telephone — an incident which receives great attention in West German newspapers.

→ West German Chancellor Adenauer is reported to be receptive for an invitation to visit the United States as soon as possible.

Monday, October 9

→ The United States Supreme Court refuses to reconsider its ruling of June 3, 1961 that the Communist Party in the United States, its officers, and members must register with the Justice Department as agents of a Soviet-controlled conspiracy.

→ The Norwegian government announces that it will continue its policy supporting NATO but nuclear weapons will not be allowed on Norwegian soil.

→ Former Assistant Secretary of Labor George C. Lodge doubts if the Kennedy Administration is "resolute in its determination to keep Red China out of the United Nations."

→ It is announced that the British Central African territory of Uganda will be granted independence on October 9, 1962.

→ Syria asks the United Nations for reinstatement of its membership. Syria gave up its separate seat in 1958 when it merged with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic, from which Syria broke away two weeks ago.

Tuesday, October 10

→ The United States recognizes the Syrian revolutionary régime which broke

away from the United Arab Republic in September.

→ A report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee suggests that Danish diplomat Povl Bang-Jensen was murdered in 1959. Bang-Jensen, who was an assistant secretary to the United Nations commission which investigated the Hungarian revolt of 1957, was ruled a suicide by police.

→ Syria's new revolutionary régime proposes that all Arab nations join in a "voluntary pan-Arab union on a constitutional, decentralized basis."

→ Ghana's Information Minister, Tawiah Adamafo, says that four hundred Ghanaian cadets will be sent to the Soviet Union for military training.

Wednesday, October 11

→ President Kennedy says "until we have a man on the moon, none of us will be satisfied."

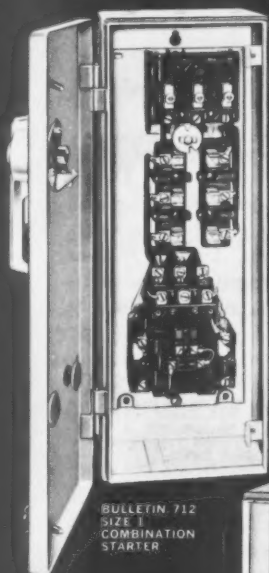
→ The Soviet Union sends ten motor-gunboats to Indonesia as part of a multi-million dollar program by which the Soviets are arming the forces of Indonesia's Communist President, Achmed Sukarno.

Thursday, October 12

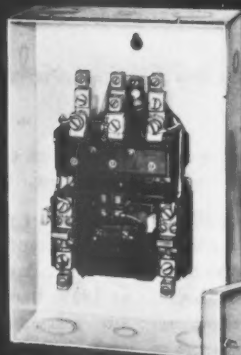
→ President Kennedy says that Americans are destined "to live out most of if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

Friday, October 13

→ It is reported that at today's meeting of the National Security Council, President Kennedy called for a reappraisal of United States relations with Yugoslavia. The President, however, does not wish, at this time, to discontinue deliveries of critical strategic materials to Yugoslavia.

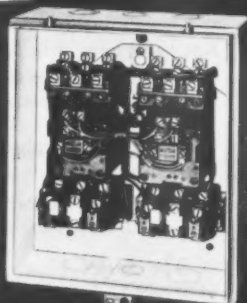


BULLETIN 712
SIZE 1
COMBINATION
STARTER

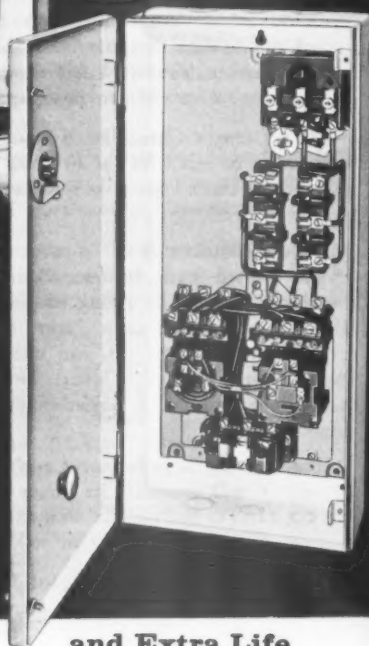


BULLETIN 709
SIZE 3
STARTER

BULLETIN 706
SIZE 1
COMBINATION
REVERSING
STARTER



BULLETIN 715
SIZE 1
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A Review Of The News

→ United States General Guy S. Meloy, Jr., Supreme Allied Commander in South Korea, orders his subordinates to keep their troops on the alert for combat because "a war could start at any time."

→ At the United Nations, Ghana begins a campaign to expel the Republic of South Africa from UN membership.

→ R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps, says that security investigators have failed to uncover a single Communist trying to infiltrate the program.

→ In the Republic of the Congo, the United Nations and Katanga Province conclude a cease-fire agreement which indicates that the UN recognizes the independence of Katanga. Signing for Katanga is President Moise Tshombe and for the UN, Mahmoud Khiari of Tunisia.

→ The Departments of Defense and State acknowledge that the United States sold 130 jet fighter planes to Communist Yugoslavia in March, 1961.

Saturday, October 14

→ Under an agreement signed today, Pakistan will receive \$621,000,000 worth of farm products from the United States over the next four years.

Sunday, October 15

→ Former French Premier Guy Mollet predicts that there will be a German-Soviet pact if Germany is not unified within five years.

→ United States Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut says he is "satisfied" that Povl Bang-Jensen was murdered. Bang-Jensen, a member of the Danish delegation to the United Nations, was declared a suicide in 1959.

Monday, October 16

→ The United States Navy announces

that it is sending a seven-ship anti-submarine force to an Atlantic Ocean area which is traversed by Soviet submarines.

→ Secretary of State Dean Rusk says the Kennedy Administration plans to channel more foreign aid funds into education in underdeveloped countries.

Tuesday, October 17

→ President Kennedy promises Finnish President Urho Kekkonen that the United States will scrupulously respect Finland's neutrality in international affairs. Kekkonen is the first Finnish head of state ever to pay a visit to the United States.

→ The Twenty-second Congress of the Soviet Union's Communist Party begins its sessions in Moscow.

→ G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, confers for more than three hours with Saad Dahlab and Mohamed Yazid in Tunisia. Dahlab and Yazid are Foreign Minister and Information Minister, respectively, of the Communist-led FLN government-in-exile of Algeria.

Wednesday, October 18

→ President Kennedy grants a full pardon to Hermon Greenspun of Las Vegas, Nevada. Greenspun was convicted and fined ten thousand dollars in 1950 for violating United States neutrality laws by shipping guns and planes to Israel.

→ At its Seventeenth Annual General Assembly, the Inter-American Press Association rejects a resolution to criticize the New York Times and its reporter, Herbert L. Matthews, for the part they played in promoting the Communist régime of Fidel Castro in Cuba.

→ In the Republic of South Africa, Premier Hendrik Verwoerd and the

The Personal Income Tax, which was devised by Karl Marx and was prescribed by him in the Communist Manifesto for the self-destruction of America, is the source of all evil. It can, and must be, repealed if America is to remain a nation of free people.

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A Review Of The News

Nationalist Party win elections which will keep them in power for another five years.

→ Chile agrees to furnish Communist Cuba with nitrates, cellulose rice, and other goods in exchange for \$3,000,000 worth of sugar.

Thursday, October 19

→ President Kennedy says "the United States firmly opposes the entry of the Chinese Communists into the United Nations or into any of the components of the United Nations."

→ General Cemal Gursel, chief of Turkey's ruling military junta, announces that he will be a presidential candidate when the new parliament convenes on October 25.

Friday, October 20

→ The White House announces that the United States will take a "final hard look" before lending any more money to Ghana, whose president, Kwame Nkrumah, is an agent of the international Communist conspiracy.

Saturday, October 21

→ President Chiang Kai-shek of Nationalist China says that his government "is determined to launch a counter-attack on the China mainland in the near future."

Sunday, October 22

→ Harland Cleveland, Assistant Secretary of State, reveals that the United States will present to the United Nations General Assembly a proposal for a program to extend international law to outer space.

Monday, October 23

→ In Lebanon, the government of Premier Saer Salam resigns.

→ The Senate Internal Security Subcom-

mittee begins hearings on the matter of United States shipments of industrial goods to Communist nations.

→ Dag Hammarskjöld, the late Secretary General of the United Nations, is awarded the 1961 Nobel Peace Prize.

→ In an address to the Twenty-second Soviet Communist Party Congress, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn tells her comrades that broad sections of the American people are "aware that the U.S.S.R. stands for peace." Miss Flynn is Chairman of the Communist Party in the United States.

Tuesday, October 24

→ Britain grants full powers of self-rule to Malta under a new constitution which provides for elections in February, 1962. In defense and foreign affairs, the British and Maltese will share responsibility.

→ Former President Eisenhower describes President Kennedy's Peace Corps as a "juvenile experiment," and suggests that Peace Corps members might be sent to the moon since it is an underdeveloped country.

→ Walter Reuther, President of the United Auto Workers Union, declares "the American labor movement cannot afford crooks or Communists in it."

→ Walter Heller says that the national budget deficit for fiscal 1962 will be about \$1,500,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000. Mr. Heller is Chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers.

→ Leaders of Turkey's four political parties agree to a coalition government with General Cemal Gursel as president. Gursel has been chief of Turkey's ruling military junta for the past seventeen months.



How To Wake Up America

Before America's patriots can win elections or succeed in any political undertaking, we must first win hundreds of thousands of active workers to our cause.

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Your friends and neighbors will come to your home to hear this startling record (L.P. 33-1/3) and will learn that the New Frontier is the Trojan Horse that is skillfully designed to destroy America. From other materials in the kit, they will learn that this invisible government is laying the groundwork economically, politically and militarily, knowingly or not, *to deliver the United States into the hands of the Communists without a shooting war!* This kit is \$5 complete.

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A Review Of The News

Wednesday, October 25

→ By a vote of seventy-five to ten, the United Nations General Assembly approves an appeal to the Soviet Union to refrain from a threatened test of a fifty-megaton-strength nuclear device.

Thursday, October 26

→ William Bender of New York City refuses to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities if he is a Communist. Mr. Bender is secretary-treasurer of the American Communications Association which has eight thousand members.

→ Doctor Edward Teller, "father of the H-bomb," says there is good reason to suspect that the Soviets have been continuously testing nuclear devices during the three-year Soviet-American "moratorium" period.

→ The State Department announces a United States loan of twenty million dollars to India to help Indian enterprises purchase aluminum, copper, and zinc in this country.

→ The United Nations Security Council approves United Nations membership for Outer Mongolia and Mauritania.

Friday, October 27

→ Irvin Chambers Scarbeck is convicted of revealing United States secrets to agents of Communist Poland. Mr. Scarbeck was Second Secretary in the United States Embassy at Warsaw until he was arrested by agents of the FBI on June 13, 1961.

→ Secretary of Defense McNamara announces that the production of B-52 strategic bombers will be ended in 1962.

→ Senator John G. Tower of Texas reports that United States officials in the International Atomic Energy Agency, on

October 4, agreed to a sale of atomic reactors to Communist Yugoslavia and to the training of Yugoslav scientists in United States atomic installations.

Saturday, October 28

→ Syria is readmitted to the eleven-nation Arab League. Syria had relinquished its individual membership in 1958 when it merged with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic, from which Syria broke away in September.

→ It is revealed today that at a White House luncheon the publisher of the *Dallas News*, E. M. Dealey, told President Kennedy that "the general opinion of the grassroots thinking in this country is that you and your administration are weak sisters."

→ Ghana and Poland sign a five-year trade pact and payments agreement. Ghanaian cocoa, seeds, oil, and timber will be exchanged for Polish industrial and other goods.

Sunday, October 29

→ Budget Director David E. Bell estimates that the United States budget deficit for fiscal 1962 will be \$6,900,000,000. At the same time Mr. Bell predicts that spending for fiscal 1963 will exceed this year's amount of \$89,000,000,000. Five days ago the budget deficit for fiscal 1962 was estimated at no more than \$2,000,000,000 by Walter Heller, Chairman of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers.

Monday, October 30

→ A nuclear device, in excess of a fifty-megaton strength, is allegedly exploded on the Arctic island of Novaya Zemlya by the Soviet Union.

Tuesday, October 31

→ In a resolution offered to the United

THE WORLD

is teetering precariously on the precipice of a Dark Age.

The battle against this tragedy is the battle against Communism. It is primarily a battle in the realm of thought and it is there that it must be won, for opinion rules the world.

In immediate effectiveness on public opinion, tracts are one of the most potent instruments that can be employed, for most people, until their interest is aroused—and sometimes not even then—will not take the trouble to read books. Moreover, tracts, unlike an editorial or article buried in the midst of other matter, when received, command exclusive attention.

The tracts listed below are calculated to be the opening wedge to ALL THE KNOWLEDGE THAT IS NECESSARY TO DEFEAT COMMUNISM.

No single person is going to win this battle for every one's effort is, of necessity, very limited. But, if every individual who really knows what a hell socialism is will do his utmost to convince only two others of the importance of defeating Communism, and they in turn do likewise, the effort can, in a surprisingly short time, become irresistible.

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A Review Of The News

Nations Security Council, nations are urged to sever diplomatic and trade relations with the Republic of South Africa. The resolution, resulting from South Africa's refusal to change its apartheid (racial segregation) policies, is initiated by Ghana and supported by the Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Egypt, Guinea, Libya, Mali, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Somalia.

→ At El Paso, Texas Leon Bearden of

Coolidge, Arizona is sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of kidnapping and for hijacking a Continental Airlines Boeing 707 jetliner on August 3. Bearden and his minor son, Cody, admitted that they intended to sell the jetliner to Cuba's Prime Minister Castro. First reports of the incident indicated that Cubans had hijacked the plane which had been en route from Los Angeles to Houston.

CONFETTI

True Magazine reports a "lifer" in the penitentiary, reminiscing: "It was a day just like this. A scent of lilacs in the air, a gentle breeze playing over the new spring grass. I was cleaning my new rifle when my wife said: 'You know, Ed, I think I liked the furniture better the way it was.'"

* * *

Son: Daddy, what's an opera?

Dad: That's where some guy gets stabbed in the back and instead of bleeding he sings.

* * *

According to Uncle Mat, Aunt Slug was in an art museum, standing before a large painting with garish colors daubed on it.

"What on earth is that?" she said in a loud voice.

The exhibit manager smiled condescendingly and told her:

"That, my dear lady, is supposed to be a mother and child."

"Then why isn't it?" Aunt Slug replied.

* * *

Representative Hays of Arkansas has described how he was taught public speaking at college.

"At the beginning of the course," he said, "each of us was given a mouthful

of marbles through which we had to speak. Every day we were allowed to reduce the number by one marble. "We became accredited public speakers," he added, "as soon as we had lost all our marbles."

* * *

Smart youngster: Daddy, if you give me a dime, I'll tell you what the ice man said to Mama.

Daddy: O.K., here's a dime.

Youngster: He said, "Do you want any ice today, lady?"

* * *

She: Did anyone ever tell you how wonderful you are?

He: Don't believe they ever did.

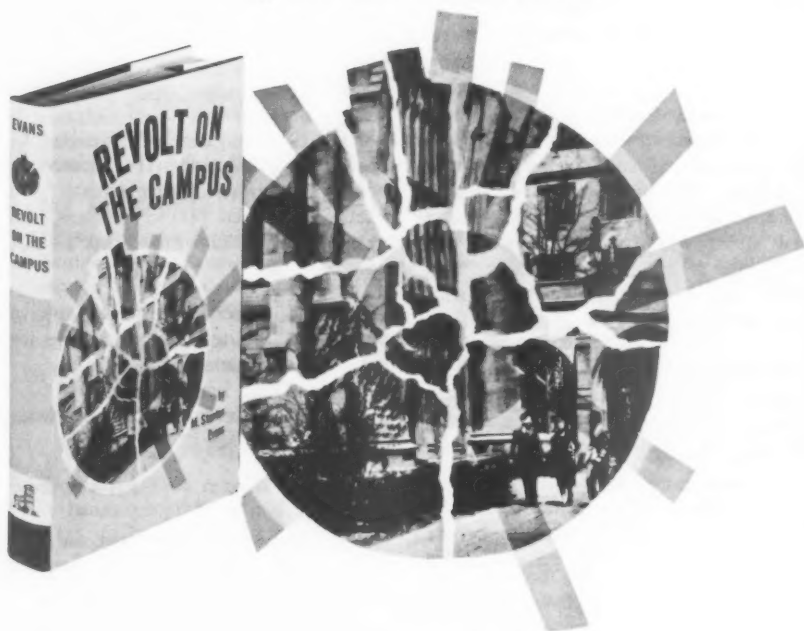
She: Then where did you get the idea?

* * *

A truck full of empty beer barrels ran into a truck loaded with crates full of live chickens. One of the drivers had such a reputation for profanity that everybody in the whole block came running, by the time he could pick himself up, to hear what he would have to say. Surveying the situation with disgust, he bowed to the assembled multitude, and raised his voice above the bedlam all around him. "Ladies and gentlemen," he confessed, "I'm simply not equal to the occasion."

REVOLT ON THE CAMPUS

by M. Stanton Evans



A fascinating discussion of the conservative movement among young people on the campus.

Author Evans, editor of the *Indianapolis News*, illustrates the scope and power of the conservative offensive and discusses the high intellectual quality of students and young people participating in it. They are aggressive, resourceful and articulate — a growing force eyeing the near future with expectation.

Revolt On The Campus is vital reading for everyone interested in the influence these young people will inevitably have on our economic and political life—beginning now!

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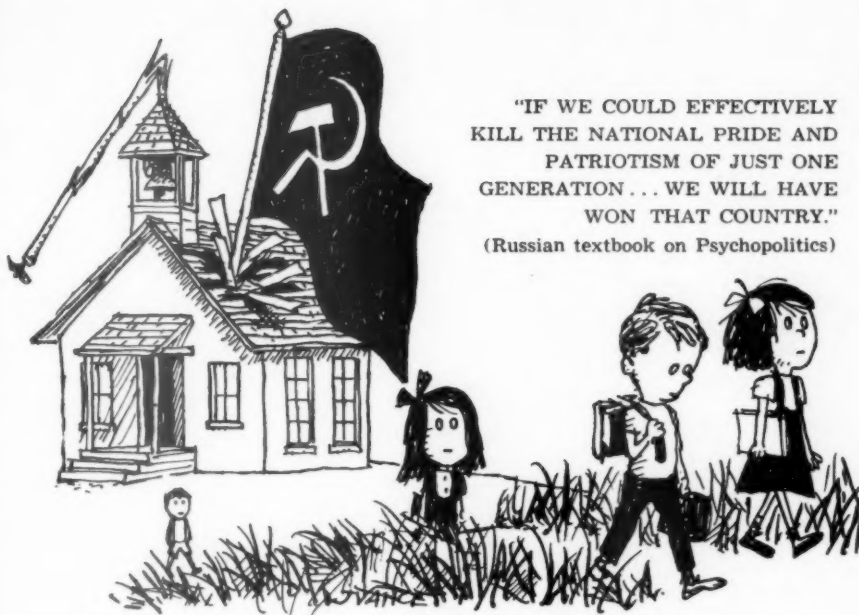
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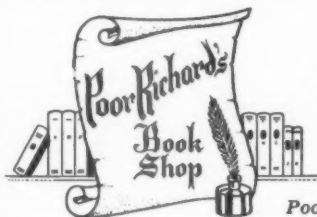
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